DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 054 875	RC 001 945
TITLE	Rural Poverty, Hearings Before the National Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty (Memphis, Tennessee, February 2-3, 1967).
INSTITUTION	National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Sep 67
NOTE	297p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	Community; Depressed Areas (Geographic); *Economic Disadvantagement; Family Planning; *Government Role; Health; Housing; *Information Seeking; Jobs; Manpower Development; Organization; *Rural Areas; *Rural Development; Rural Education; Rural Population; Unemployment; Welfare Services

ABSTRACT

On September 27, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. To this commission, he delegated the responsibility of making a comprehensive study and appraisal of the current economic situations and trends in American life. In fulfilling this responsibility, the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty conducted public hearings in Tucson, Arizona; Memphis, Tennessee; and Washington, D.C. The verbatim transcript contained in this volume is a result of the 2-day public hearing in Memphis on February 2-3, 1967. Two additional volumes contain the proceedings of the hearings in Tucson (RC 001 975) and Washington, D.C. (RC 002 004). All 3 volumes of hearings conducted by this commission are verbatim transcripts of the respective hearing proceedings. Based upon these public hearings and other extensive research, the commission presented a final report to President Johnson on September 27, 1967. The final report, which is contained in another volume (ED 016 543), describes poverty in America in 1967 and recommends "the most efficient and promising means of providing opportunities for the rural population to share in America's abundance." (LS)

ED0 54875

RURAL POVERTY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

RECEIVED
DEC 22 1967
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

Hearings

Before the

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

on

Rural Poverty

Memphis, Tennessee

Room 936, Federal Building and Courthouse

February 2 and 3, 1967

Washington, D. C.
Issued September 1967

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY

Membership of the Commission

James T. Bonnen
Edward T. Breathitt (Chairman)
David W. Brooks
Sara R. Caldwell
Lawrence A. Davis
Neil O. Davis
John Fischer
Thomas R. Ford
Herman E. Gallegos
Connie B. Gay
James O. Gibson
Vivian W. Henderson
Francis S. Hutchins
Kara V. Jackson
Lewis J. Johnson
W. Wilson King
Oscar M. Laurel
Winthrop C. Libby
Carlyle Marney
Thomas W. Moore
Robert A. Roessel, Jr.
James Earl Rudder
J. Julian Samora
Miles C. Stanley
John Woodenlegs

Commission Staff

Executive Director ---------------------------------- C. E. Bishop
Associate Director ------------------------------ George L. Wilber
Assistant to Executive Director ---------- Lawrence S. Stinchcomb

W. B. Back
W. Keith Bryant
Cleveland A. Chandler
Lynn M. Daft
Clifton R. Jones
J. Patrick Madden
George M. Stephens, Jr.
Gooloo S. Wunderlich

Administrative Staff

J. Gayle Carpenter
Marian C. Carter
Florentine Ford
Mary Thomas Fox
D. Jacklyn Harris
Marjorie L. Henricks
Linda G. Hogberg
Marcelle Masters
Edna Raymond
E. Anne Reed
Meldanette M. Richardson
Velma Tachovsky
LaDene Hester

FOREWORD

On September 27, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. To this Commission he delegated the responsibility of making a comprehensive study and appraisal of the current economic situations and trends in American rural life. In fulfilling this responsibility the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty conducted public hearings in Tucson, Ariz.; Memphis, Tenn.; and Washington, D.C. The verbatim transcript contained in this volume is a result of the two days of public hearings in Memphis, Tenn., on February 2 and 3, 1967. There are two additional volumes which contain the proceedings of the hearings in Tucson and Washington. All three volumes of the hearings conducted by this Commission are verbatim transcripts of the respective hearing proceedings.

Based upon these public hearings and other extensive research the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty presented a final report to President Johnson on September 27, 1967. This final report, which is contained in another volume, describes the poverty in rural America today and recommends the most efficient and promising means of providing opportunities for the rural population to share in America's abundance.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

ABA	American Bar Association
ARA	Area Redevelopment Administration
ADC	Aid to Dependent Children
AFL–CIO	American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations
ASCS	Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
BAT	Bureau of Apprenticeship Training
CAA	Community Action Agency
CAP	Community Action Program
CDGM	Child Development Group of Mississippi
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
DSA	
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
EDA	Economic Development Act
EOA	Economic Opportunity Act
FHA	Farmers Home Administration
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
MDTA	Manpower Development Training Act
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAHB	National Association of Home Builders
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NYC	Neighborhood Youth Corps
OED	Office of Economic Development
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
OJT	On-The-Job Training
STAR	Systems Training and Redevelopment, Inc.
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
USDA	U.S. Department of Agriculture
VISTA	Volunteers In Service To America
WET	Work Experience and Training
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CONTENTS

February 2, 1967

Page

Witnesses:

Howard Taft Bailey, farmer, Lexington, Miss — 3

Lewis Black, director, Rural Advancement Project, Alabama Council on Human Relations — 9

John Jean, State director, Arkansas Farmers Union, NYC Program — 18

Lewis J. Johnson, Jr., State coordinator, Arkansas Farmers Union Green Thumb Program — 19

Henry McHenry, director, Arkansas Farmers Union MDTA On-The-Job Training Program — 20

Blue Carstenson, national chairman and director, Farmers Union Green Thumb Program — 21

Amzie Moore, Child Development Group of Mississippi — 27

Ida Lawrence, mother of eight children, Greenville, Miss — 34

Cleo Blackburn, executive director, Board for Fundamental Education, Indianapolis, Ind — 38

James R. Thomas, director, Tuscarawas County (Ohio) Legal Services Program — 47

Juanita Joyner, ADC recipient, Memphis, Tenn — 59

William McCandless, federal cochairman, Ozarks Regional Commission — 66

Peter Stern, TVA director of regional studies, Knoxville, Tenn — 75

Harold L. Dettman, chairman, Upper Peninsula (Mich.) Committee for Area Progress — 89

Oliver Terriberry, executive director, Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission — 95

Robert Miles, president, Panola Cooperative, Batesville, Miss — 103

W. W. Campbell, chairman, First National Bank of Eastern Arkansas, Forrest City, Ark — 109

George McLean, Community Development Foundation, Tupelo, Miss — 114

Glenn Biddle, field supervisor, Human Resource Development (Antipoverty) Project of the Town and Country Department, Ohio Council of Churches — 122

Edward L. Angus, Department of Political Science, Memphis State University — 124

A. J. McKnight, S. J., Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Lafayette, La — 135

February 3, 1967

Page
Clyde Warrior, president, National Indian Youth Council, Tahlequah, Okla 144
Early Padgett, former coal miner, Monterey, Tenn 153
Catherine Barlow, mother of thirteen children, Ripley, Tenn 159
Hodding Carter III, editor, Delta Democrat Times, Greenville, Miss 163
Louis J. Twomey, S. J., director, Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University 175
Theresa Smith, volunteer worker, community action group, Richmond, Ky 185
Carolyn Russell, extension home economist, Forsyth County, N Car 189
Mrs. H. L. Nunn, volunteer home demonstration leader, N Car 192
Perley Ayer, director, Council of the Southern Mountains, Berea, Ky 199
H. S. "Hank" Brown, president, Texas AFL-CIO 206
San Lee, VISTA worker, Albia, Iowa 217
William D. Chapman, Delta Pilot Project, Episcopal Diocese of Missouri 223
R. R. Underwood, staff director, East Carroll (La.) Community Action Association 230

Material Submitted for the Record

By Witnesses:

Blue Carstenson 239
Amzie Moore 242
Cleo Blackburn 243
Juanita Joyner 247
W. W. Campbell 248
Louis J. Twomey, S. J. 252
Theresa Smith 254
Carolyn Russell 255
H. S. "Hank" Brown 257

By Others:

Paul Anthony, executive director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga 259
Isaac K. Beckes, president, Vincennes University Junior College, Indiana 265
Richard R. Dodge, director, Menominee Community Action Program, Keshina, Wis 266
Lower Chattahoochee Valley Area (Ga.) Planning and Development Commission (OEO) 267
M. D. McKirgan, executive director, Community Action Organization of Delaware, Madison, and Union Counties, Inc. (Ohio) 269
Rev. C. E. Martin, supervisor, Operation Green Finger, Shawnee Development Council, Karnak, Ill 269

Page

Joe E. Maynard, executive director, Southern Kentucky Area Development Council, Inc., Bowling Green, Ky ---- 271
Robert Merkle, staff assistant, Kosciusko County, Ind., Rural Electric Membership Corporation ---- 275
T. E. Patterson, executive secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association, Little Rock, Ark ---- 277
Rev. Tharnell Snow, North Little Rock, Ark ---- 278
South Central (Minn.) Community Action Council ---- 278
Lee W. Taylor, executive director, Rough River Area Council, Community Action Agency, Breckinridge and Grayson Counties, Ky ---- 280

7

HEARINGS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY

MEMPHIS, TENN.

February 2, 1967

MORNING SESSION

CHAIRMAN HUTCHINS: Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to call our hearing to order, please.

The time has arrived. And we will attempt to keep pretty close to the schedule as we proceed throughout today and tomorrow.

I am very glad to welcome you all. I will preside at this session of the hearings. I am Francis S. Hutchins, ordinarily president of Berea College in Berea, Ky.

I would like to introduce first, as best I can, the members of the Commission—National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty.

Beginning at your left, I think I have these people in order, and I will attempt to do this—Mr. Oscar M. Laurel, district attorney, Forty-ninth Judicial District, Laredo, Tex. He was chairman of the hearings in Tucson last week.

Mr. Wilson W. King, farmer, breeder of registered Angus cattle, Kinglore Farms, Inc., Rock Falls, Ill.

Dr. Kara Vaughan Jackson, director of student personnel services and professor of education at Grambling College, La.

Mr. Gibson is not here yet from the Potomac Institute in Washington.

Next to me, Mr. Lewis J. Johnson, president of the Arkansas Farmers Union and secretary-manager, Farmers Union Mutual Insurance Company.

Then on my left, Mr. Connie B. Gay, president and chairman of the board of the Connie B. Gay Broadcasting Corporation, Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Herman Gallegos from the Ford Foundation, consultant in San Francisco.

Next is Mr. Thomas R. Ford, professor of sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

Next is Mrs. Sara Caldwell, director of child welfare, Mississippi State Department of Public Welfare in Jackson.

Next to Mrs. Caldwell is Mr. Lawrence Arnette Davis, president, Agricultural, Technical and Normal College at Pine Bluff, Ark.

There will be several more members of our Commission present sometime during the day, and I hope I will remember to introduce them.

Is Dr. Bishop in sight? Stand up, would you, please. He is the executive director of the Commission, Dr. C. E. Bishop.

The Commission has been appointed the task of investigating almost any and all aspects of rural life, with particular attention to the problems of poverty—what may have caused these conditions—and particularly a study, if possible, of the programs directed toward relieving poverty.

We would like to have from any of our witnesses any advice and suggestions for the guidance of the Commission.

The Commission is appointed by President Johnson by Executive order. It is to report to the National Committee on Rural Poverty which is composed of, I think it is, six secretaries—cabinet secretaries—who will receive the report of our Commission, which must be prepared by September. The Committee at that time would be prepared to consult with President Johnson and the executive branch to make whatever recommendations it may feel are appropriate.

We have invited you, and we welcome witnesses to this hearing, so that we may have your words of wisdom and your experience. We would like any advice that you may have on almost any aspect of rural life, particularly any aspect which has a bearing on poverty.

This is the second of three hearings which are conducted by the National Advisory Commission. The first was held in Tucson, January 26 and 27. The third hearing will be held in Washington, February 15, 16, and 17.

We ask all those who present their views today to bear in mind that the Commission is national in its point of view. We are definitely interested in the details and the component parts in the smaller geographical area, but as the whole business proceeds, it is the national point of view which also will prevail.

As the presiding officer I don't think I need to say we must have your cooperation in different matters. For example, we would suggest there be no applauding. If somebody makes a particularly stirring presentation we would like to save the time so that all may be heard.

The testimony will be reported verbatim, and I have just a few words that may be necessary about the procedural matters.

We will receive written testimony. If you have something that you would like to have in writing, we will be happy to receive that. Written testimony will be given the same thoughtful scrutiny as anything that is presented orally.

The office is in Washington, and any one of our staff can give you the address should you wish to use it.

I am going to ask each witness as he is called upon to begin his testimony by giving his name and address, and the person making the statement will not be sworn in. There will be no cross-examination, but we will like the opportunity for Commission members to ask questions. It would be our suggestion that your testimony be reasonably brief, possibly 10 or 15 minutes, so that members of the Commission may have the opportunity of asking questions. To save time—we don't want to save time too much, but we do have a schedule to meet, and if you have seen a list of witnesses you will see that we do have a somewhat long list to cover.

Are there any questions about our initiation this morning? (No response.)

Our first witness to come to us to bring his wisdom and his advice is Mr. Howard Taft Bailey, Lexington, Miss., farmer.

Is Mr. Bailey here?

Just tell us again your name, and I would like you to tell me where you live. I don't believe you live in the city of Lexington, Miss., do you?

Mr. **Bailey**: No, I don't.

The **Chairman**: You are a farmer?

Mr. **Bailey**: Yes.

The **Chairman**: Are you married?

Mr. **Bailey**: Yes.

The **Chairman**: How many children do you have?

Mr. **Bailey**: Six girls and three boys.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Bailey, would you tell us what you would like us to hear.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD TAFT BAILEY

Mr. **Bailey**: My name is Howard Taft Bailey, Route 3, Lexington, Miss. I live on a farm. We realize that Mississippi is one of the 10 poorest States in the Union. The mean income of the lowest person per capita is about $600.

Mechanization has seemed to have a tendency to make it lower. Farm mechanization seems to have a tendency to make the median income a little lower because it causes people to be shifted from the farm, unemployed; and some are moving into the small towns, you might say urban areas. They are unskilled and don't have no experience—which you know that the plantation system has created dire need for the rural participants on the plantation—and they don't have the skill nor the ambition, it seems, to make for themselves a way in this society.

Coming to this poverty program—while there have been several programs that have come into our section of the country, we will start with the Headstart program. The Headstart program has done a very, very good job for the low income people, especially students who enrolled in the Headstart and have never seen a doctor, a nurse. In other words, they have been isolated from society in just home life, which has been bad, but through the Headstart they have been able to come in contact with people who have given them a motivation. The things about the program which affect Headstart—it hasn't had enough finance, it has been very low with finance; and it has taken care of just a meager number of people, and that brings about confusion. It seems that there might be some favoritism.

For instance, maybe their program wouldn't take care of but 300 children when 1,000 need the same care, and that brought about a medium program or brought about confusion. Those who it did touch, it really was a help. It motivated the children; it has helped the parents; and my only comment on that would be if we could triple the finance and the personnel that we might motivate the plantation peoples and the rural peoples in the smaller areas.

Another dire need is adult education. With the mechanism of these farms it makes adult education very, very necessary. We find there are a lot of adults who can't read nor write. We find people who have large families who cannot sew. They just don't have nothing to take care of the children that they might be able to adjust themselves in the society. The funds have been very meager for that, and in some instances they cannot get it unless they go free. Why, the people in that area are poor and can't hardly get their kids to school. So my suggestion would be adult education with a subsistence—in other words, get us a pool for going to school—and that would play a very important part in the life of the rural people. I think there were 300 of them in my area that got it. We found that people who could not sew was able to sew by pattern some and to make their kids clothes, which made it better.

Another thing that is affecting the rural people in America is the small farmer. The large plantations with this parity payment have a tendency to make the sharecropper—he has no place on the large farm, only as tractor drivers. A lot of them are getting a huge sum of parity and diversion, which makes it more profitable to them to move the tenants off the farm. My version would be on that, that if they kind of cut the parity payment on these large farms and maybe up it on the small farm, that it might be able to survive.

Another instance: We need more family farms. Too many families have lost their farms and have shifted from the farms, and there are many who never had a chance to own farms and had no place on the plantation where they live. So I feel that the family farms, there should be some way to set up a family farm that people might be able to—that the Government might assist in buying land and place these farms.

Say, for instance, in my instance in Holmes County there—some 20 years ago that was done, and the families who live on there are able, although they are small, but they are able to make a decent living and to contribute to the life of that community. We feel that if we could break into the plantations and buy land and help these people on the farm they could help themselves in production, cattle, things that would make life more secure for them. And they might be able to take a place in the society.

The FHA and other Government agencies have been a little bit too tight on the small farmers usually. The fellow who could do a little better, who has some experience and knowledge, why, he is the one that can get the largest loan. I feel that it should turn more to the small fellow, small farmer or small person, and give him technical assistance that he might be able to motivate himself.

The next thing that we find is that there hasn't been much put on farm cooperatives. That is a weapon that the poor people can motivate themselves with, that they might be able to sell and buy goods at a fair price. Usually the poorest person is the one that pays the highest price for the goods he gets, and he is not able to sell his labor and service at the very lowest price. I feel that if there is some way through the OEO program that we could get credit unions and farmers cooperatives, it would help. We find all over the South in these cities that people who have to go to these credit loans and, not knowing much about business, they think they are borrowing money at 5 percent and they wind up paying 50 percent. I feel that the Federal Government should kind of look into that.

This War on Poverty could mean a lot in the life of the people of America if it was handled right. Oftentimes I find in these community action programs they are controlled by the power structure and the Government money. It is so fixed that it doesn't reach the poor, and I feel that in these programs they should be so geared that the poor person would be able to participate in these programs.

Oftentimes people who are illiterate or who do not have professional training, they have the story; but they won't tell it in their own way. I feel that the illiterate or the nonprofessional people should be so nursed that they might be able to tell their story. For instance, in Holmes County we had a voter registration drive, and we had to take a plantation place—a person who lived on the plantation—to bring the people who live on the plantation out to register. We feel that these programs should be so geared that the fellow who is in the poverty-stricken area can give some answers to what is happening.

That's it.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bailey, thank you very much. You have made some very clear and explicit statements.

Mr. King.

Mr. KING: Mr. Bailey, like yourself I am a farmer, in Illinois, and I know what mechanism has done in our part of the country. It has probably not been as disastrous to the working people as in your country. But in your adult education program, do you feel the people who have the mechanization—because I feel you aren't going to turn the clock back to nonmechanization farming—but is there a shortage of trained men to keep the machinery running? That's the problem in our country.

Do you think that is an area where adult education would be helpful, not only to you people who perhaps have lost jobs in the farm economy, but would be helpful to the total farm economy? Is that an area where training would be advantageous to the whole economy?

Mr. BAILEY: It would.

Mr. KING: Is there any program being developed to teach fellows like you or I who have been displaced from the land and jobs on how to keep diesel tractors running?

Mr. BAILEY: In my country, why, it is a little different from the North. We live practically on a plantation system, so I am speaking in terms of large farm operations. They do not want a skilled tractor driver because it is going to take more per hour to support him.

Mr. KING: Yes, I realize that, but it takes skilled men to keep this machinery running—at least that's our problem in the northern part of the country.

Mr. BAILEY: I understand, but generally they have. They have that.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gay.

Mr. GAY: Mr. Bailey, my section of North Carolina—I was raised up under the plantation system, so I guess you and I are about the same age—but down there it has sort of diminished. We have relatively few operational plantation systems. Is the plantation system diminishing any in Mississippi, or is it staying about the same?

Mr. BAILEY: Well, the large operator is getting larger because a lot of small farmers is forced out of business. They can't get any credit.

Mr. GAY: You'd say it is staying about the same?

Mr. BAILEY: But the large farmer is getting larger and the small farms are diminishing.

Mr. GAY: But the number of plantation owners—taking a plantation as a unit—are they increasing in number or decreasing?

12

Mr. BAILEY: They are increasing in number.

Mr. GAY: The second question, Mr. Bailey. You spoke of certain action programs being hamstrung or controlled by the power structure. May I ask you, in the case you were referring to, were you referring to the power structure, per se, of a given community, or is it a white power structure? Is it a biracial power structure, or is it just power regardless of who has it in that particular community?

Mr. BAILEY: It is a white power structure. If you would note that in my section, why, it is a white power structure. The Negro is not—because of color, he is not able to acquire large land.

Mr. GAY: Are there any cases in the South, such as in your part of Mississippi, or maybe in Alabama, where you have any Negro power structure on a local level? I notice, for example, you are beginning to flex your muscles with the election of some officials. You finally got one sheriff, and so on and so forth. But when the Negro in a given community gets into a position of a little muscle and some of these action programs come along for the low, low, low income man, do we see any power structure starting to begin there, too?

Mr. BAILEY: I do.

Mr. GAY: Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Davis.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: I have two questions. I have changed one of them since Mr. Gay asked one I was very much interested in.

No. 1, I didn't hear you say whether or not you owned your farm where you live, and if so, whether you have made any changes in your method of farming, and so on. Have you been able to adapt your farm operations to the mechanized and highly technical farming procedure?

Mr. BAILEY: I do; I own my farm.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: How large is your farm?

Mr. BAILEY: I have 130 acres.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Is that a big farm in Mississippi, or a small one?

Mr. BAILEY: It used to be, but it is a small farm in Mississippi now.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: And you are using mechanical cottonpickers?

Mr. BAILEY: On a custom basis. We have some people in the county that have cottonpickers.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: In other words, the medium-sized farms are cultivated through contracts with people?

Mr. BAILEY: They are harvested, but they are contracted—you understand, just a small farmer of 130 acres.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: That is a large farm in Arkansas.

Mr. BAILEY: I have my own tractor and equipment for that. But when it comes down to the beans, the combines, the cottonpicker, why, we get it from someone that does custom work.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: I have some pretty definite ideas about what ought to be done, Mr. Bailey. But going through your testimony, I got the impression that you feel that people who are not too well educated or who are not literate should have adult education and even the small farmer should be subsidized. In other words, you feel that the Federal Government should make an effort to sort of bring parity into living by subsidizing in different ways people who are disadvantaged?

Mr. Bailey: I do.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: In other words, education, farming, and so on, so that they can reach what we would consider as a decent American standard of living. Is that about your view?

Mr. Bailey: That's right.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Thank you.

The Chairman: Dr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: Mr. Bailey, how did you put your operation together? Did you inherit it? Did you purchase it yourself?

Mr. Bailey: Well, I did not altogether inherit it, but my father owned the farm.

Mr. Bonnen: You had a small start and then added acreage to it?

Mr. Bailey: Yes.

Mr. Bonnen: In the process of growing to 130 acres, what sort of credit did you have access to? How did you finance the growth that you have experienced?

Mr. Bailey: Through the local banks.

Mr. Bonnen: Commercial banks?

Mr. Bailey: Commercial banks. I believe I started in 1947. At that time in my area you could easily get credit through the banks if you would show some pretty fair management, and you could meet your payments and get along fine. But in '54, the southern bankers made altogether a change.

Mr. Gay: Is that '64 or '54?

Mr. Bailey: '54.

Mr. Bonnen: Why '54?

Mr. Bailey: Why, the school situation. It got my section all excited.

Mr. Bonnen: Are you typical? You made a comment that FHA credit was not generally available. Do you know of any examples of small Negro farmers who have had access to FHA credit for their own expansion?

Mr. Bailey: I do know some.

The Chairman: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. Gallegos: Mr. Bailey, do Negroes receive technical help from the Department of Agriculture and from county agents in the same way that white farmers do? Are there any Negroes who occupy technical jobs who can be made available to give that kind of assistance? In other words, do we have Negroes in paid employment of county seats and of State government that are employed to give help as well?

Mr. Bailey: We have a Negro country agent, and generally you know how that is. When the power structure is—say, for instance, I'll come back to when it was so fixed that we were going to get parity. The ASC office, they would set the yield. Usually he'd say, "Your farm produces 340 pounds of lint," maybe, when it should be 940 pounds. Well, the Negro county agent has been a little slow in trying to help solve that problem. And the local farmer—we finally got one or two local farmers who knew how to do it—and they helped a lot of people to pull their yield from 300 to 600, almost double their land yield. Usually the average Negro farmer hasn't been taught to keep records, and he can't keep his cotton sales or what it took to prove that your yield should be high. The Negro country agent has been called on for help and he has been a little skeptical, seems like. In other words, he is a personal friend of mine, and he was kind of afraid of his job.

Mr. Gallegos: But do the white county agents and the Agriculture Department employees come around and offer their services?

Mr. Bailey: No.

The Chairman: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gibson: Mr. Bailey, I am interested in a couple of things along this line. The differences in the yield—was this along racial lines? The way it was drawn up, the Negro got recorded for lower yield, and this was not a pattern among white farmers?

Mr. Bailey: I couldn't say that because we don't have no one that works in that ASC office to give us the facts. But I do know that the most Negroes yield 340, and lots of times my yield was 340. I got it pulled up to 1,000 pounds, but I usually kept a record. What started me to keep a record was in 1955 when I started paying social security tax. But a lot of them, we kind of had to let them go over because they didn't have no record; and you've got to have 3 years' records to bring it up to the standard.

Mr. Gibson: You mentioned a Headstart program in Holmes County, in your community. Who runs that program?

Mr. Bailey: Well, it is run, mostly, well 99½ percent, by Negroes because we haven't been able to integrate. It has opened for integration, but they haven't been able to integrate.

Mr. Gibson: Is this a private group or a private nonprofit group, or is it the school system, CDGM?

Mr. Bailey: It was last year CDGM, and they could not integrate; and now it is CAP. There is not too much participation in integrating the faculty and the other people who are at the head of it.

Mr. Gibson: Those adult education programs that you mentioned—are those run by STAR?

Mr. Bailey: The adult education was run by a private group. The St. Joseph College had a program, but through CAP we had not been able to get adult education going. I think in my speech I said that it didn't offer any stipend, and—I kind of glanced over my paper—why, the superintendent of education turned it down there.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Bailey, do you have any trade schools in your community?

Mr. Bailey: Well, we have. We do have under this manpower training. They have trade schools, mainly automechanic.

Mr. Johnson: May I give him some information, Mr. Chairman, just briefly?

The Chairman: Briefly, yes.

Mr. Johnson: As to your small loans for your small farmers—now, Farmers Home Administration has a new loan under this Economic Opportunity Act that will loan a farmer up to $3,500. They also have cooperative moneys that they will loan—farm money. They will loan these low income farmers who really can't borrow under their regular program or from banks. We will file that later, but we made over 1,400 [loans] in Arkansas last year. So you want to check in with your Farmers Home Administration. That program is there and you ought to use it.

Mr. Bailey: I am in the Mississippi farmers co-op, and we felt that the farmers there use a lot of oil and petroleum. And I talked with the FHA administrator there and asked him if maybe we wanted to get a loan to kind of get set up in this, and he said we had a petroleum distributor there. I told him that we didn't have one that belonged to the farmers. So, I don't know, but we are hoping to kind of push into that this year.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Mr. Chairman, one more question?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: You referred, Mr. Bailey, several times to the power structure. We see that referred to situations where it is difficult for disadvantaged people.

What is your thinking? Do you think that there should be some effort to dissolve and weaken the power structure, or do you think that it is possible to dispense with the power structure, or do you think that Negroes or disadvantaged people should try to get into the power structure? Have you thought of it in that way? Every time you mentioned a program you have mentioned the power structure impeding the progress of the people. Now you have to deal with the power structure. Should you try to get rid of it, or should you try to get representation in the power structure?

Mr. Bailey: I feel that we should get representation in the power structure, but that must be the right person. You know, lots of times these power structures will buy off even a Negro.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: In other words, you think you have to have a power structure? [Laughter.]

The Chairman: Mr. Bailey, you have been a very good help to us, a very real help. Thank you very much, sir.

We would like to introduce two of our Commissioners who have just arrived.

On your far right is Dr. James T. Bonnen, professor of economics from Michigan State University, and the last arrival on your left, Mr. Moore, president of ABC Television in New York City, and for Mr. Bailey's information I would say he is a native of Mississippi, too.

The second from my right is Mr. Gibson from the Potomac Institute in Washington, D.C.

Our next witness is Mr. Lewis Black, director of rural advancement project, Alabama Council on Human Relations in Greensboro, Ala.

Mr. Black.

STATEMENT OF LEWIS BLACK

Mr. Black: My name is Lewis Black, Greensboro, Ala.

To the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, I am delighted to have the opportunity to report to you some of the problems that face the low income and poor people of the State of Alabama.

We have had legislation passed to cure all the ills that prevail among human beings in America. We live in a rich and a dynamic society in this nation. But it still prevails that out of the 3,372,633 people living in Alabama—that 67 percent of these people receive an income of less than $3,000 a year. It still prevails that out of this group you will find that 50 percent of Alabama receives less than $3,000, and we have 10 counties in the State of Alabama where 70 percent of this group are receiving less than $3,000. Ironic enough, that in these counties where we have people receiving less than $3,000 in Alabama, 70 to 80 percent, the majority of the people in these counties are black people.

In the State of Alabama we have 971,468 Negroes. This is about the most unfortunate group of people that exists in the State, as in all other States in the Union, I assume. Forty-five percent of the people who live in Alabama have less than an eighth-grade education. And in some of the counties, particularly out of these counties that are predominantly Negroes, you have from 75 to 80 percent of the people having less than an eighth-grade education.

In some counties we have people who—have illiterate people that ranks up to 60 percent. So when we speak about power structure, this looks like the problem comes from the power structure on down to need for education. These are just a few introductory remarks that I made to you, but I would like to go on and talk about some specifics.

One of the problems that we have with one of the agencies of the United States Government that can be most helpful to people in rural life—we have about 67 percent of Alabama rural community—and we notice that the USDA (United States Agriculture Department) is still one of the most segregated institutions that the United States Government provides. It is the most segregated agency that we still have, segregated in services and in manpower. I don't mean just people employed, but I am talking about people who actually pass decisions on things.

Let us look at food programs. We have a food distribution program throughout the United States that has been distributed by the United States Department of Agriculture. And our representative from Mississippi, Miss Caldwell, is probably more familiar with the system of the food program than most of us; but in the State of Alabama we have 67 counties, and only 30 of these counties are receiving food commodities. We find that these counties that are receiving food commodities are the ones that are the best equipped financially. The poorest counties are not receiving this food distribution—37 poor counties. If I was in position to make a recommendation to you, I would recommend that we declare a disaster of those counties in Alabama not receiving food commodities. I would like to ask this Commission to do all it can to see that these poor people get food, because people are literally and physically dying in Alabama for the lack of food, from malnutrition. The fault is on whoever is the cause of it, and I know one of the faults that I have laid it on was the United States Agriculture Department.

I made two trips to Washington, D.C., to talk with people about it. Mr. Burke here promised me in Mississippi when we had the meeting down there and I testified before the commission, this civil rights commission on agriculture, that the food would be in Hale County the first part of October, and the food hasn't gotten there yet.

The other thing is the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. We call it the ASCS. Mr. Bailey spoke about the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. This is one agency that comes under the USDA that can be most helpful to poor people, to the small farmer, in rendering services. In one county in Alabama last year we had a million dollar program under the ASCS,

17

and the poor farmers, white and Negro—and this includes just about all the Negroes—received almost no service from the ASCS. This ASCS made cotton allotments, corn allotments, and other allotments to other farmers; and covers this crop diversion check and helps people out with measuring land. And we can hardly get any services. The definition for a farm in Alabama is raising cotton, and cotton was played out in Alabama 10 years ago.

In the State of Alabama in 1965, we had only 11 Negroes elected to the county community committees—not to the county committee, but to the community committee. As you know, these community committees have no power at all to pass any decision on any services that people might receive—no cotton allotments, or anything. We have 25 counties in the State of Alabama that have more Negro farmers than white farmers, but these Negroes are gerrymandered and franchised so against until they can't get on any of these committees. Some of them are literally kicked off places because they run for a place on committees. One man was run out of Alabama and, incidentally, he came to Tennessee last summer because he ran for the committee, a seat down in Marengo County.

Something needs to be done about this ASCS program. I feel that Negroes should be represented on there, even if we have to have a recommendation that they be appointed. In the State of Alabama, instead of putting a Negro on the State committee they set up an advisory committee to the committee for the State of Alabama. None of these fellows that was placed on this committee had any interest in the farm, nor much interest in the people on the farm, nor did they represent the lower class, the lower income group, of Negroes. It is my recommendation that we get all of these advisory committees into a committee, and put somebody on the committee.

The ASCS has become one of the great problems. We filed a suit last summer in order to try to overthrow some of the yields of it. In Lowndes County, Ala., Negroes were gerrymandered so in the election that they were evicted from their homes because they ran for this election. The State of Alabama performed an investigation —sent some people in from Washington to come down there and investigate the election of 1965—and the United States Government upheld the Negroes in that the election was held wrong, and they threw out the election. Instead of them having the election all over again, they set the election up 3 months ahead, so it would give the same people a chance to serve their term out to reelect the Negroes to these committees, and didn't anybody get elected. We had only 18 Negroes in 1966 to get elected to a community committee. And in many of the ASCS offices we can't even go in and sit down and talk with the people.

In Greene County, Ala., a man was chased out of the ASCS office with a letter holder because he went in to talk with the people.

Housing is a problem. In the State of Alabama we have about 950,000 housing units, and 365,000 of these housing units are substandard. In some of these 10 counties that I was talking about where we have these poverty-stricken people, we have 90 percent substandard housing. In so many counties in Alabama, we have 75 percent of the houses which still don't have running water in them.

Speaking about other facilities, like telephones—in some counties in Alabama you still have about 10 Negroes in the whole county who have a telephone, where you have 85 percent of the population constituted of Negroes—from 9,000 to 13,000 Negroes, and only 10 or 12 telephones.

Housing is of such drastic importance to the people in Alabama, until I feel it should be some program set up through FHA to make available farms where these people can start self-help housing right away. When people look at the United States and other countries through these television screens and in movies, they assume that everybody in the United States is riding around in big boats, skiing, and have two or three maids, and what have you, but I don't think people have actually seen the story of this place until they go down in Alabama and Mississippi and Georgia.

We talk about education. There is an old saying that people don't know which come first, the hen or the egg. I don't know which come first, ignorance or being poor, because when a person is poor he is ignorant and when he is ignorant he is poor. The reason for this great problem of poverty in the United States of America is because people are uneducated, and the reason comes right back, Dr. Davis, to the power structure being the cause of it. I taught school for 16 years, and things that I have seen that people wouldn't resist against—only the teacher in the county. Many times I would resist against things—school buses with 45 seats in them, and 85 students riding to school in them; children riding 50 and 60 miles to school in the morning, and he sleeps when he gets to school; people making children pay for milk and other food that they are supposed to be having a free lunch room. All of these things face our people.

I remember a superintendent in Hale County who told a bus driver, "If you don't want to haul the children to school and back home, turn in your bus keys." I reported this to the board of education. I was teaching for that county, and the board of education did nothing about it. So much of this stuff, people know about it; but it is going to have to be people facing up to the facts and telling the truth.

So many times we build these chicken shacks for Negroes to get an education. Down in Hale County they put them every place they can to keep the Negroes from going to the white schools and integrating. You can walk in some of these same schools with 1,500 and 1,600 students and you can carry all the books out of the library in two armfuls. There are schools without any inside of them, with no books. You go in and the library is just empty, a few tables around. Yet we say we have good schools.

We are still having in the rural area where people turn out to school half the day and have ball games. I believe in physical fitness, but I believe there should be some pattern to the thing. I believe in mental fitness, too. I believe we have a cultural heritage that we must learn. I think that our boys should be prepared and our girls should be prepared to do something. It is time for the Negroes and the poor people to learn how to make electric bulbs instead of just learning how to turn them on. Until we can educate these boys and girls and give their minds some technical training, teach them some skills, and teach them the cultural atmosphere of this society and this cultural heritage that we have, and help them to become enriched with these great things that this country can afford, then we will miss the mark.

The other thing I would like to talk about would be employment. I am not going to talk about it long, because my time is running out. I didn't know I was so long-winded myself.

Employment is one of the problems that face people. And since people have learned that their rights were being denied and have gotten out to get a chance to register to vote, employment has been very difficult for the black folks. In the State of Alabama, Governor Wallace said that we had more employment last year than we have ever had. This is true, but he employed all the white people and left the Negroes out.

Mr. **Gay**: Pardon me, is that him or her?

Mr. **Black**: That was him, when he was there, former Governor Wallace. We have two governors.

Of all the riches in the United States and all the great things that we see around us in this world, we must think about this particular people. One man wrote from Mississippi, he was born in Mississippi, James Weldon Johnson, that a lot of people have a lot to look forward to. He wrote these words and a lot of us have a lot to look forward to yet in this: "Lift every voice and sing until the earth and heaven ring, ring with the harmonies of liberty, that our rejoicing rise high as the listening skies; let it resound loud as the rolling sea. Sing a song full of hope that the dark past has taught us, sing a song full of faith that the present has brought us; face the rising sun of our new day begun, let us march on to victory as one."

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. Black. You have been very helpful indeed, and we appreciate your statement.

Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. **Bonnen**: You were talking about the food distribution program earlier in your presentation. Let me ask a clarifying question first. You said that so many people were not getting it that should have been eligible. It wasn't very clear to me whether you meant by this that they were being discriminated against or that there was a failure of organization or the system or something. What was the basis of the failure of the people to receive the food, in your judgment?

Mr. **Black**: Well, in the State of Alabama, particularly in Mississippi and Georgia, if a county is going to get food—because the United States Department of Agriculture made a difference in Mississippi if you remember—if a county is going to get food, then the judge and the county commissioners would have to request food from the State department. Then the State welfare will provide the necessary statistics showing whether these people need it. They will certify the people that actually need the food, the welfare department will, but the county judge and the board of revenue is supposed to request this food and be responsible for passing out this food. The Federal Government gives the food, but the county is supposed to provide the money to get the food distributed.

Mr. **Bonnen**: You are saying that the failure of the system to get food to these people is the result of the system at the local level?

Mr. **Black**: Right.

Mr. **Bonnen**: That is not the Department of Agriculture, say?

Mr. **Black**: That's right. In two or three counties in Alabama, we marched on the judge to get food.

Mr. **Bonnen**: Thank you.

The **Chairman**: Mrs. Caldwell, please.

Mrs. **Caldwell**: While we are on the subject of food, what do you think of this movement toward the stamps rather than the food itself, where persons of low income purchase stamps and then they get additional stamps which was supposed to give them more money for food?

Mr. **Black**: I think this can be a fine program. As you know, it can cut off some of your problems in hiring people to distribute the food and trucking the food, and food spoiling in storage, and what have you. But, on the other hand, the local merchants in some cases make a racket out of it. You see what happens. I know some counties in Alabama where they made a racket out of this other thing. They broke in the place and got the food and carried it to the store and sold it the next day, and the whole power structure was in with them on it. The racket they make out of this is that they will sell you the stamps, and they won't let you trade at some certain stores, and they raise the price on the food in so many cases. We have examined this in some counties in Alabama.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Ford.

Mr. **Ford**: I would like to follow up on this statement you made and some of its implications where you made the statement that the USDA is a segregated agency in services and in manpower. Then you referred to several programs which, by implication, were maladministered as a result of segregation or racial discrimination operating in the United States Department of Agriculture.

Mr. **Black**: That's right.

Mr. **Ford**: Now, when Mr. Bonnen here questioned you about the food distribution program, apparently this was something at the county level rather than the USDA.

Mr. **Black**: Well, you know, the exception that was made in Mississippi was that they distribute the food to an organization. The USDA verbally told us that they could distribute food to an incorporated organization, if the power structure refused to distribute food to poor people. Then, after we got all organized to do it, they declined to do it because black people were controlling it.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mr. Black, this is not rebuttal. I just want your view again on the power structure, because this keeps coming back. Poverty results from low education; low education results from the attitude of the power structure, and prejudice and discrimination of the power structure. What should be done about the power structure? What can be done in our society? Will you have to have a power structure? Is that inevitable in our society and, if so, what is your view as to whether Negroes should try to become a part of it or modify it? What is your thinking on the power structure, just briefly, if you can?

Mr. **Black**: Well, I think that the Negro should try to become a part of it, but more than likely, every time—I am just making a statement now, but you know, I think it was Booker T. Washington who said the only way to keep a man in a ditch, you have got to stay in there with him—every time people set out to hurt one race of people, then some of that people be hurt, too. This is individually seen in so many things that we have done in the State of Alabama.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: What you are really advocating is greater participation of trustworthy Negroes as a part of the structure itself?

Mr. Black: I think it should be emphasized in an institution for teaching power structure people. I was talking with a county commissioner of one county in Alabama just a couple days ago, and I was telling him about how they could bring in the MDTA training. When I went on to tell him about it, he stood there through my whole elaboration of about 10 minutes and then he said, "What is MSTA?"

The judge of Hale County didn't even know that he had the power to bring in the food program. Most of these people—judges and road commissioners, let me say county commissioners, revenue men—feel that the only responsibility that they have is to keep the roads, build roads for a person. They think they have fulfilled their obligation if they give them a road, and I tell them quick that a person never in their lifetime will eat a yard of road.

The Chairman: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gibson: Mr. Black, just for clarification, getting back to the food stamp thing, I am interested in understanding and in having the record just exactly show what we are talking about. You explained to us in answer to a question by Dr. Bonnen that the present mechanism works through the county level in terms of the judge, and so forth, and that this has broken down in a number of counties. I think you said it was 25 counties in Alabama.

Mr. Black: Thirty.

Mr. Gibson: Then you got a question from Mr. Ford on which I was not clear in how it was answered, as to whether or not the Department of Agriculture was, therefore, not in any way culpable. Now, as I understand it, the distribution of that food by the Department of Agriculture is for the objective of reaching the people who need the food, who meet the various eligibility criteria; and one of the mechanisms they have chosen to do it is the State and county structure, in some instances. Where this breaks down, it is possible for them to do it through other means. I think you said something about nonprofit corporations being able to do this.

Mr. Black: My whole argument is this, that the reason people are poor is because of the system, and if the USDA is going to follow the same system that they did 10 years ago before we had antipoverty programs, then we only need one. We don't need the antipoverty program, or we don't need the system that they are going to use. They need to change the system of distributing the food, because through the system that they had 10 years ago, people got poor because they didn't have the food.

Mr. Gibson: You just said something that opens up another line of questioning.

Mr. Chairman, I don't want to unduly protract this, but he just alluded to the antipoverty program, and I would like to ask him about this.

Do you mean—is your inference that there has been, through the antipoverty program, the establishment of contact with this population of poor people in Alabama which was not traditionally the case before the OEO programs came about? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. Black: Well, maybe I should have brought this out, that

22

we even made application to the antipoverty program to get food distributed in two counties in Alabama—Hale and Perry Counties. The antipoverty program promised us they would distribute the food. The Agriculture Department promised us they would give the food if the antipoverty program gave us funds. We haven't received any in a year's time.

Mr. Gibson: Neither has acted in this regard?

Mr. Black: Yes. So, maybe I am not answering your question, but what I am saying is the reason for the antipoverty program in the outset was because somebody was poor, and this showed that somebody from the top had neglected their duty to see about the fellow down here. If we are going to follow the same system, like waiting until the judge decides that he sees fit for the people to get the food—which he hasn't done for the last hundred years—if we are going to wait for that, and then when the people become aroused to the point that they need the food and still can't get it, then it seems to me that the United States Department of Agriculture or somebody should change the system to get the people the food that they need.

Mr. Gibson: I think that is a very clear message.

The Chairman: Mr. Gay.

Mr. Gay: Mr. Black, are you considered part of the power structure by certain people? We all are at one time or another, we are up here, but——

Mr. Black (interrupting): I think I am, yes.

Mr. Gay: One other question, and I am serious——

Mr. Black (interrupting): People come to me for me to help them, and I try my darndest to help them. The judge hates to see me coming in so many of the counties in Alabama.

Mr. Gay: As a member of the power structure of Alabama (laughter) and as a member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, a very fine organization— and I say this seriously because I know what you are talking about; I am one of the upper crust of the nobodies myself—but what have you done, you and your council and you and your power structure, to apprise and apprise and apprise, again and again and again, Secretary Orville Freeman about the injustices and the inequities of the ASCS program in several of your counties? What have you done to hammer this man and hound him, and it can be done because I worked there 10 years and I know you can drive us crazy if you want to.

Mr. Black: Well, you might know Mr. William Seagram.

Mr. Gay: I am talking about the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Black: I have never gotten a chance to talk with the Secretary of Agriculture. They send me through channels. Mr. Ken Birdhead has talked to me so much on the phone he decided he didn't want to talk any more, so he referred me to Seagram.

Mr. Gay: Mr. Freeman is from Minnesota, and he will listen.

I am reminded, for a bit of levity, what I read coming down here on the airplane of what Vice President Humphrey said. He said, "You know, the longer I stay in Congress, the better I like that seniority system."

Mr. Black: Well, I would like to recommend, and you might take it as a joke or might take it seriously, that since Mr. Gay, or B. Gay you say it was, since you are part of the upper crust of the nobodies, then I would hope that you will see about somebody getting some food in Alabama.

The Chairman: Mr. Johnson, please.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Black, you dealt around these commodity foods there. The facts are, aren't they, that what you are talking about is that if you fail to give these low income people food, then you can get labor much cheaper? That's what you are talking about?

Mr. Black: That's right.

Mr. Johnson: That's true all across the country?

Mr. Black: If you fail to give them food, employment, or any service at all, you can run them out of a county and you lower your population down to what size you want to have it.

Mr. Johnson: Either that, or you can get domestic labor or any type of labor a lot cheaper?

Mr. Black: That's always been a system, not only in Alabama, but the other States. The facts are that what money they have made in the last hundred years, is what money they have made on cheap labor. That's the whole system.

The Chairman: Mr. King is anxious to get at you.

Mr. King: I am sorry, we are running way overtime. Do you have a copy of what you said in regard to ASCS, the farm program?

Mr. Black: Well, I have some literature.

Mr. King: Could you give it to me?

Mr. Black: I could give you, also—I started working for the Alabama Council only a year ago, and I also will give you a copy of——

Mr. King (interrupting): I don't belong to the upper crust of nobodies like Connie, but I am on the National Committee of Feed Grain Wheat Program, and I could visit the people you wanted visited. I would like to have the tangible information, because from Illinois I can't talk knowledgeably about things in Alabama unless you provide me with something.

Mr. Black: I will give you a copy.

The Chairman: Mr. King, it is also in the record which you will ultimately have.

Mr. King: I am sorry to take more time.

The Chairman: That's all right.

Thank you, Mr. Black, for a very informative bit of information you have given us. We greatly appreciate your being here.

The next party is introduced by Commissioner Lewis J. Johnson of Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Johnson: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You will notice there are programs of rural betterment, and we have several programs we sponsor in Arkansas. I am going to ask the men to gather around the table. I want to—we will stay within our allotted time, Mr. Chairman.

I do have some pictures around on the table. One of the projects people are working on, beautification of highways and picnic areas, we have made pictures of.

Now, I want to introduce Mr. John Jean, our state director of the Farmers Union NYC program. We try to serve all those rural counties where we do have programs to make sure our rural people have an opportunity to participate in this program. Mr. Jean and these men will all file a brief with the Commission. But if you will give us in 2 or 3 minutes a summary of the program you direct in Arkansas, we will appreciate it.

STATEMENT OF JOHN JEAN

Mr. JEAN: I am John Jean, and in 2 or 3 minutes we will do our best. You have a copy where we spell this out in a little more detail.

The Arkansas Farmers Union and the NYC program in Arkansas, in the 20 months we have been in existence, we have touched and served about 20,000 poor, predominantly rural, young people between the ages of 16 and 22. Now, we hold that if this much is rural poverty, we feel that it is going to be broken at this age level and with these young people that we are currently working with.

Now, we hold this and recommend this and try to accomplish this—that if there is any program, whether it be a poverty program or otherwise, if it is good for an urban people, it is good for the rural people. In the State of Arkansas since we have had our program, we have been able to extend the NYC program to every county in the State. We pick them at large, whether it be urban areas or rural areas. We don't leave them alone. We go out to the end of the school bus routes and see that there is a distribution to the best of our ability of the existing programs that we have.

Now, we strongly feel that we are probably the only State where this has been accomplished because of the Farmers Union sponsorship as a nonprofit organization of this particular program.

Now, we hold, we feel that you, as a President's advisory commission, should support this contention, that what we have available, if it is good for the urban people it is good for the rural people. Sometimes we don't have all the leadership in the rural areas we have in the urban areas, and we suffer for it.

We say again, through the brotherlike sponsorship we have been conducting, we can help them with our need for leadership and we can extend what we have to all the counties.

Now, we feel, we know we have a good program because we have learned by experience. We hold another theory. I don't know whether you subscribe to it or not, but as far as poverty programs are concerned, they are for the benefit of the poor. And we subscribe to the theory the majority of the money entrusted to use for administration meets the person who is entitled to it. We are definitely against a duplication of administrative efforts and needless duplication of any program that uses Federal Government funds and that is desiring to reach the poor and to help the poor. We will give very definite instructions.

We only have 2 or 3 minutes, but believe me, I would like to have an hour to talk with you about this particular segment of the program we have.

Mr. JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Jean.

If you gentlemen would hold your questions, please, until we get through all of them. Mr. Jean was talking to you on the NYC program.

I would like to introduce Lewis J. Johnson, Jr., working with the senior citizens on the highway beautification program.

Jim, would you.

STATEMENT OF LEWIS J. JOHNSON, JR.

Mr. Johnson, Jr.: Mr. Chairman, members of the President's Committee on Rural Poverty, I am Lewis J. Johnson, Jr., and I am the state coordinator for the Arkansas Farmers Union Green Thumb project. The Green Thumb project was designed to benefit and to reach older, retired farmers.

Now, in Arkansas, we have many rural retired people who are still on the farm. This program presents a program of employment with several basic purposes in mind.

First of all, and one of the most needed elements, is to supplement that older, retired farmer's income—he and his wife. The majority of them in Arkansas are living on anywhere from $44 to $77 a month social security, and it is pretty doggone hard to do. So first, to supplement the income of these men. These men are willing to work, the majority of them are able to work, but due to their age level and due to the location of where they live in rural Arkansas, work is just not available to them.

It is also an important factor to investigate the fact that even though men do reach the age where our society considers them beyond help or beyond the help of a community, that even though these men do reach an age of 60 or beyond, that they still have a most valuable part to play in their community, in their State, and in their country.

Now, we presently have 105 men working on our Green Thumb projects in Arkansas in five Arkansas counties. Their average age is 66. Our oldest worker is 85 years old. Their average income is a little over $800 a year. The total number of dependents is 241.

Since we began Green Thumb in Arkansas, just about a year ago, these men have done more than their share in proving themselves worthy of still being an important part of their community. They have set out and established some 60,000 to 70,000 flowering trees—redbud, dogwood, crabapple. They have established 10 beautiful roadside parks, the pictures of which you have on your table, Mr. Chairman. This took many days of hard labor, 8 hours a day, 3 days a week, of containing the soil, of ditch checking, soil erosion by mulching and sodding.

There is no shortage of men, we have found, in the State of Arkansas and in rural Arkansas, and I am sure there is not in rural America, that could not become useful citizens once again. So the Green Thumb project in Arkansas, we feel, and nationwide, has proved itself as a needed shot in the arm, not only financially but mentally to the men who participate in it.

I have two gentlemen with me today, Mr. Taylor on my left, and Mr. Greenwalt on my right, who are members of the Farmers Union Green Thumb project. They are the working members, and if you have questions later on you can direct them to them if you so desire.

One other element I would like to submit to the Committee. We have heard testimony on loans to the farmer. In Arkansas, through the Farmers Home Administration—since June 30, 1965, through the Economic Opportunity Cooperative Loan Association—the Farmers Home Administration has loaned and administered over 1,400 small loans amounting to over $2,447,000. Now, these loans were on an average of $2,500, to an individual who beforehand would not even qualify for a regular Farmers Home Administration loan. And the Farmers Home Administration in Arkansas tells us that their repayment on these loans has been well above expectation and they are experiencing no difficulty whatsoever, but these loans were designed for the man who needed the tractor or he had the five acres and he needed the cow.

Mr. JOHNSON, Sr.: Thank you a lot, Jim.

At this time I want to introduce Mr. Henry McHenry, who is the director of our OJT program. They are talking about MDTA and OJT. We sponsor also an OJT program. Mr. McHenry is director of it, and also he is the assistant director of the NYC program. Mr. McHenry, now if you will give us your testimony.

The CHAIRMAN: Would you explain this OJT?

Mr. McHENRY: I sure will.

STATEMENT OF HENRY MC HENRY

Mr. McHENRY: To the Commission members, Mr. Chairman, I am Henry McHenry who is currently serving as director of the Farmers Union Manpower Development and Training Act on-the-job training program, which is the explanation for OJT.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

Mr. McHENRY: What we are doing and what we felt at Arkansas Farmers Union was that we have many farmers who have been pushed so far, and many rural boys and girls who never even have the opportunity to make a living on the farm, that unless we find an effective vehicle to get them into industrial work or some other kind of service industry, they are going to be segregated against in the sense of finding worthwhile employment in the cities. We knew that in other States there was available community sponsorship of on-the-job training programs. When we made our application in Arkansas, no other community group had thought to try and do this. We are trying to provide this vehicle for rural Arkansas. And the people who needed job training in order to get the jobs did apply for it, and we are currently operating this on-the-job training program.

The major things that we have found—the major factors that have affected our program—have been these: Many employers will not take a person and employ him and train him at a specific time because he says it costs too much to train. Well, when we offer him the course, enroll him in our on-the-job training program and then teach him the skills that you want him to learn—and we will pay up to 20 percent of your training cost for a 6-month period—we have been able to find jobs for these people. And we know that if we are going to make life better for the poor people of Arkansas or for the Nation, we must find jobs for them, and this is our job-finding vehicle.

Through our Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, we already have the identity of these people who need jobs and who won't be able to go to school. So what we do is go out in private industry and develop jobs for these people and then offer them the on-the-job training program, a training allowance for 6 months, and at the end of that time this person not only has training but he has a permanent job. This, in our estimation, is one of the more effective programs that could be successfully correlated with other programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and other pieces of legislation if someone in the communities would take a good look at what is available and effectively put them together to serve the people that we are supposedly set up to serve.

Thank you.

Mr. **Johnson**: Thank you a lot, Mr. McHenry.

At this time I want to introduce out of our Washington office Dr. Blue Carstenson, who is the national chairman and director of the Farmers Union Green Thumb program.

So, Dr. Carstenson, if you will wind us up here on our testimony, we'd appreciate it.

STATEMENT OF BLUE CARSTENSON

Mr. **Carstenson**: I am Blue Carstenson. I am the director of National Green Thumb, and I have been privileged also to be one of the six key lobbyists on almost every major piece of Great Society legislation, as assistant legislative director for the National Farmers Union.

The Farmers Union, born in poverty at the turn of the century, has been battling for the small farmer throughout the Midwest and South and Far West and East, battling for the survival of the family farmer, and we have been carrying out a great range of programs. From having probably established more cooperatives than any other single organization, we have carried out, for example, a direct drug service program to beat down the prices of drugs, and there is a mail service now available throughout the country. We have carried out Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in five States, Green Thumb in five States, and OJT programs and many other programs, and worked in community action programs throughout the country. We have believed in the Federal Government and we believe in the programs, and we were willing to fight for them.

I have given you a statement which I will leave with you. I also leave with you a report that we prepared for Lady Bird on this Green Thumb program. She has been sort of our patron saint in this program of trying to beautify our highways, using the talents and abilities of older and retired low income farmers.

On page 3 of my statement, I think a very important key sentence is that first sentence underlined—

> The basis for the economy in rural America is agriculture and the farm, and no antipoverty plan can ignore the plight of agriculture and the family farm.

I think this is what may have happened in a lot of our efforts in rural poverty. Unless we are able to get 100 percent parity for the small family farmer, we are going to continue to have poverty in rural America.

Today the farm debt has reached $45 billion, and the farmers today pay $2½ billion every year in interest rates. We pay 2 percent more than our urban brethren for interest rates; and you can't do it and survive on 77 percent of parity, which is what we have today.

We aren't getting a fair deal in the marketplace. Even within 50 miles of this area the food marketing commission found that there was all sorts of hocum going on in the food marketing-processing thing that shortchanges the farmer.

I also have in here the quotes and statements concerning what the farm equipment industry has done in gouging the farmer by taking unreasonable profits, millions and millions of dollars. It is all outlined here as to what they have done, and that they are taking an unconscionable profit from the farmer.

The interest rates in rural America, as I have said, have gone up 2 percent over what the urban areas have gone up. This whole tight money situation has resulted in a tragic loss, which may result in the loss of hundreds of thousands of additional farmers that are going out of farming this coming year because of this tight money situation. We get a little bit of a drop in interest rates but it isn't really going to be enough to help the poor farmer, the low income farmer, the family farmer. We state in the statement here, State by State, what the interest rates are, and if you can farm on 7 to 12 percent interest rates on farm-operating loans, you are a better farmer than most farmers in this country.

We are going to need truth-in-lending legislation; we are going to need action on the part of Federal Reserve; we are going to need antiusury laws; we are going to need a whole raft of legislative action by the Administration to bring down interest rates so we don't drive additional hundreds of thousands out of farming. We are going to need more credit, probably another billion dollars, from Farmers Home Administration to implement just the legislation that's now on the books. Many of the Farmers Home Administration offices are now out of money or will be out within a very short time, so that they won't have the money to loan the farmers in a time of tight credit.

Show me an area where the family farmer is in trouble and I will show you, in 9 times out of 10, a rural community that's in poverty. We fail to reach rural America with the Great Society programs, a tragic failure. When you think that only 4 percent of this MDTA (the Manpower Training and Development) 4 percent goes to rural areas, only 15.5 percent of the OEO-CAP money goes to rural areas, 10 percent of the services for the elderly reach rural areas—very little of the employment service has reached rural areas.

You have some bright spots such as Arkansas, but by and large the fact that from 20 to 40 percent, depending upon the year, of farm income comes from employment should mean that the employment service should be reaching out and serving the rural family farm; and they just aren't reaching out.

Only one twenty-sixth of the Federal efforts in housing are going to rural areas. For every 25 houses federally aided built in urban America, only one is built in rural America. We aren't getting our fair shake in these things.

I have spelled out here a series of recommendations, leading off with the need for 100 percent parity for the family farmer and when I talk about parity, I am talking about an income, a net income, that would give the farmer who works longer hours than the factory worker at least an income equal to what a factory worker gets today.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Johnson, for having these various representatives here. Are there any questions?

Mr. King.

Mr. KING: I see a very quiet gentleman sitting there.

Mr. JOHNSON, Jr.: Mr. Taylor. He lives up in Newton County, Ark., one of my Green Thumb foremen. He is 67 years old, and he is a foreman of one of our Green Thumb crews that is out producing some results.

Mr. King: Thank you.

Mr. Gay: Mr. Chairman, and Commissioner Johnson, I'd like to ask if this statement here is available to the press? I notice Radio Station of America represented here, John McDonald from WSM in Nashville. I wonder if these people could get these?

The Chairman: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. Laurel: I have a question as to this Green Thumb program you have here. Is it a corporation? Is it funded under the War on Poverty? Or is it undertaken by the Farmers Union in and of itself to conduct this work, sir?

Mr. Carstenson: This is funded under the Nelson amendment program. It is the pioneer Nelson amendment project under the OEO. It is now being transferred over to the Department of Labor. It is the prerunner, the forerunner, and the pilot study according to the congressional reports in the testimony, and so forth. This is the one in which they built the Kennedy, Javits, Scheuer, and all the rest of the so-called employer-of-last-resort programs, the Illinois Pact programs, and this is the first and the pilot project.

Mr. Laurel: Now, the Nelson amendment, of course, can be used for other purposes. I mean, it could also be used for a transitional period, for example, on some aspects of farmworkers, for example, giving them gainful employment as welders, as carpenters, as masons, and so on, under the Nelson amendment.

Mr. Carstenson: This probably is an illegal use of funds. We have some questions about what is going on in OEO, and we have raised these questions with Secretary Wirtz and with representatives of OEO. This program is under the law—and I will supply you with the legislative history—for conservation, beautification, and community betterment. I think the program you are talking about is the Scheuer amendment program, which is the training for subprofessionals and others for job employment. This is a program for those hard-pressed people who cannot get jobs, who are unable because of age or otherwise to get employment; and while there is an element of future job employment, this is not the only part of it. We are employing a number of farmworkers, particularly in our New Jersey and Oregon projects, who are, of course, older farmworkers who have sort of been worked out of even the farmworking program.

Mr. Laurel: I was thinking of this type of a program where you have, for example, migratory workers being given—trying to break the cycle of migration that has been going on for many years, and then giving them the type of training in a line that they probably have not had any previous experience on, and then use this training for general beautification, for the erection of some facilities in any given community. That's what I was thinking of.

Mr. Carstenson: We are going to need a lot more employment programs. I personally fought, over the objection of Sargent Shriver, for basic adult education, and to have it expanded this past year. We are going to need a lot more of this.

I like Congressman Perkins' bill, which calls for residential vocational schools. We are going to need an awful lot more in this, and I felt that too often some of the people in OEO have been objecting to the employment-type programs, to adult education. We are winning them over slowly and surely. Sargent Shriver is now convinced that they are great; but we are still running into a lot of opposition, and we think the adult education programs and employment programs are the ones that are best accepted in rural areas.

Mr. **Gay** (Acting Chairman): Dr. Carstenson, Commissioner Tom Moore, I believe, has a question for you.

Mr. **Moore**: Yes, I have a question, and at the same time I take great question to some parts of your statement here. I am, of course, very much in agreement with the objectives of this particular group, but I think the kind of broad, skating statement that you make about some of the great manufacturers of farm equipment is pretty broad to put into the record of a group like this. I realize it is an evidentiary hearing, but for you to come very close to accusing them of acting in unison—which in itself would be a violation of criminal statute of the Federal Government—I think it is very bad, and if it is going to stay as a statement standing like this, I think that International-Harvester, John Deere, and Allis-Chalmers should have a chance to put a letter in the record because they have made a great improvement in this field.

Mr. **Carstenson**: This was a statement by our national president. We had over 200 farmers who used their own money out of their own pockets to come in from all over the Midwest last week around the problem of tight money; and this is the position that our Farmers Union feels strongly about—that the price of implements, and particularly around interest rates, are arriving at prices clear out of bounds. Some of our State Farmers Union organizations have started a stop-buying campaign because they feel that they ought to stop buying until the prices come down and until the interest rates come down.

Mr. **Gay**: Thank you, Doctor.

Our time——

Mr. **King** (interrupting): Mr. Chairman, could I have one question?

Mr. **Gay**: Quickly, quickly.

Mr. **King**: I want to get back to Mr. Taylor. Can you give us a brief sentence about Green Thumb? I don't mean to embarrass you.

Mr. **Taylor**: When I got to work with the Green Thumb I was in distress, I needed help, and I am proud to get it and all of my buddies that worked with me were sure proud to get it, too, and I think it is a wonderful thing for the community. I don't see how we got by without it.

Mr. **King**: Thank you for your testimony.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mr. Chairman, Mr. McHenry—I wanted to ask him one question.

Mr. **Gay**: All right, we have just a second. He asked me to keep it moving while he is gone answering the phone.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Has there been any particular problem in relationship to extending this program to minority groups, especially the Negro in Arkansas? The other is, has your program been able to help people find new locations, to assist them in relocating?

Mr. **McHenry**: In answer to your first question, we have had no problem as far as extending OJT to the Negro for the reason before we can enter a subcontract they must sign a compliance agreement that they will hire according to the qualification of the person, the only qualification being that the person has been referred by the employment service, so we have not had people to turn it down on those bases.

The second one is, our particular one does not work with relocation. We hope to include this kind of thing a little bit later, but we have no formal relocation benefits in ours.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Thank you.

Mr. **Gallegos**: I would like to ask Mr. McHenry a question, also on OJT. How many applicants have you had for OJT, potential applicants? How many placements have you made? And then, what kind of cooperation are you getting from the labor movement inasmuch as they usually have to certify whether it is apprenticeable trade or not, or specifically, whether they feel you are entering into their jurisdiction or not?

Mr. **McHenry**: We have been able to place to this date slightly over 115 out of the total 150 quota that we have received, and the only problems we have had with labor—all the problems with labor are hammered out before we sign the subcontract. We get the union representative and the State Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training representative to agree on whether or not the skill being taught is apprenticeable, and if it is, then the State Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training will go in and set up a formal apprenticeship program to go along with and even continue after the on-the-job training is over.

Mr. **Gallegos**: What has been the ratio of males to females in your placement?

Mr. **McHenry**: In our placement so far it has been about 95 percent male and maybe 5 percent female, simply because of the kind of skills involved.

Mrs. **Jackson**: Mr. Chairman, this has been such a positive report in contrast to the preceding, I am interested in the secret of getting these things going in Arkansas. How did you move so fast to meet the needs of the poor people?

Mr. **Johnson, Jr.**: I think one of the greatest, most important things about the Arkansas Farmers Union—the people themselves inside the organization know the needs. We don't need a grant to last 2 or 3 years to try to find out where poverty is or where the need is. We know where the problem is, or the organization knows where the problem is. They know what type of programs are needed, and that is the only thing that this organization needs to produce anything.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mr. Chairman, if I could supplement here. He is very modest, but one of the strongest factors in this whole business is a well-organized Farmers Union and a leadership that knew how to circumvent obstacles and opposition that might have occurred and how to outmaneuver the power structure.

The **Chairman**: They were part of it, were they not?

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: They were part of it. I should say that, in all fairness, and that doesn't mean everything is perfect but that's been responsible for the success.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Ford.

Mr. **Ford**: I would like to direct a question to Dr. Carstenson on a rather basic issue that frequently comes up, especially from some of my economist friends, and this is the apparent movement of the

Farmers Union and other groups to save small, submarginal farms that are apparently having to struggle for existence and cannot utilize the economies of scale, and their argument runs that in so doing you are really simply perpetuating a condition that is going to cause chronic poverty by seeking to maintain these 80-acre small-scale farms on nonproductive land. Now, what sort of answer do you provide to this type of charge which, I believe, is fairly frequent? At least I hear it.

Mr. CARSTENSON: It has been frequent for about 40 years, and they have been steadily driving out the farmer. The farmer who was successful and so forth 10 years ago has been pushed out by the credit or lack of credit, and the lack of land, and the lack of cooperatives and other things of this sort. In fact, if we hadn't had the cooperatives in the Midwest, in our heartlands of the Dakotas and Minnesota and so forth, they would be in as bad a condition or in as bad a shape as are the farmers of the South today. It has only been because of a real frantic fight that we have been able to survive at all in the Midwest with the small family farmer.

Now, for example, on dairying: There is real question whether or not the large dairy is, in fact, the most efficient. In fact, the recent studies that have been made show that a two-man farm—a man and a son or a man and a worker—is, the most efficient farm for dairy farming. We challenge the whole notion of efficiency anyway, because is it more profitable or more economical to put a few million dollars into keeping family farmers on the farm at a decent level—and it wouldn't take that much more to keep them on at a decent level—or would it be better to spend billions, and I am talking about billions because that is what the mayors are thinking of spending and are already spending to try and eradicate the problem. If you move to bankrupt these farmers, for every family farmer you bankrupt you are putting 15 people into this poverty cycle because you take out a farmer, and two other families in the rural small community that service him or work with him in the economics of the whole town. So every one you pull out, you have to think of 15 people, and you start pushing this into the city.

For example, now they talk about a million farmers. Incidentally, I said yesterday and I repeat it today, that some of the economists are now talking about the need for only a quarter of a million farmers, not a million farmers. But if you turn around and put those people plus the 15 people that are behind them, the family and the other families—you are going to bankrupt the cities. You are going to overcrowd Watts even further. You are going to overcrowd Chicago and all the other communities and make more problems. It is cheaper to solve poverty in rural America with a few helps to the rural farmer than to import it into the cities.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to thank these gentlemen very much indeed. As Dr. Jackson said, this is a positive approach to the problems, and we are very happy indeed to welcome you here. Thank you very much.

The next person to be heard is Amzie Moore of Cleveland, Miss.

Mr. Moore, we welcome you.

Just proceed as you would like.

STATEMENT OF AMZIE MOORE

Mr. Moore: I came here from the Mississippi Delta, which consists of about 18½ counties.

The Chairman: Could you tell us first your position, your title? Do you live in the country?

Mr. Moore: Sir, I have no title and I live in a small town of about 13,000 people, Cleveland, Miss. I work with the Child Development Group of Mississippi. That's about the size of it.

Now shall I proceed?

The Chairman: Yes, please.

Mr. Moore: I noticed on the program they gave me I am to talk about the impact of the agricultural minimum wage on four counties in the Delta.

Well, I guess everybody knows that the mechanical cottonpicker has taken away from the majority of people of the Delta their livelihood, and now those who were on the farm, those who were working on the farm as day laborers, who chopped the cotton, do not have work to do because of the fact of the chemical applications used to kill grass. So, then, we have most of the people who once lived on the farm living in the small towns in Mississippi, with overcrowded housing conditions and no jobs because of mechanization. Mechanization has taken the jobs away from them and there are no industries in the Mississippi Delta to employ them. So, then, a lot of them go to visit their friends and to live with their friends in the city, in Chicago, in St. Louis, in Gary, Ind., and California.

Now, we feel that in the Mississippi Delta the Federal Government could do a lot toward solving the housing problem through the Farmers Home Administration, if it wasn't controlled by local politicians who aren't really interested in doing anything. We think that all of the land that has been taken out of cultivation, some 925,000 acres, could be given over to these people who have worked that land for 100 years so they could make a decent living; that if there were more poverty programs under the supervision of the poor people in that area that you would get better results; that the wage which has been from $2 to $3 a day for families numbering up to 15 per family has served one purpose, and that is to starve the majority of people who once lived on the farm.

Now, what can these people do? They are unemployed, and now since we are going to get a minimum wage of $1 an hour, the farmers don't feel that they should pay that dollar an hour, so they are saying to them, "You are going to have to find somewhere to move." The question is, Where are they going to move? There are no houses in the small towns. How are they going to survive? What are they going to eat? Who really cares?

I do think that if they had the opportunity to farm the land, to grow their own vegetables, to set up co-ops, to actually work in some type of processing plant, that they could solve their problems.

The majority of these people are aged people because the young people, most of them when they finish high school or college, they leave; so right now we have the very young and the very old. The welfare department has not been adequate to cover those who need it, and in many instances they are restricted by regulations that I think are surely in violation of Federal guidelines. Just a few days ago a woman told me that she was told that she would have to buy a food stamp or they would cut her welfare check off. Now, this could apply to literally hundreds of people in Quitman County, in Bolivar County, in Sunflower County, and in Issaquena County.

They have also stated that there will be no more distribution of surplus food. I asked the question, these people are not employed, they have nowhere to go, they have nothing to eat, how in the world are they going to buy stamps? I just don't know how they are going to buy stamps without money, and yet my county and several other counties have introduced the idea of the stamp program. They say that there is a little money going around and, of course, they can spend that money for stamps. I say that all of these people who are now leaving the farm and those who are on the farm who have no visible means of income, who have no livelihood, who cannot be gainfully employed, I am saying today that those people cannot buy the stamp, and the stamp program is not the solution to this problem. It is definitely not the solution to this problem.

Do you know why the Mississippi Delta has not been industrialized? Because the plantation economy didn't want industry in the Delta. They didn't want organized labor there messing up its labor force. So they just sat around for a long time until finally the cottonpicker caught up with the hoe and the chemical caught up with the hoe, and now we are left practically holding the bag.

We feel that if there was some method of training people in some type of vocation, that if people were interested in industrializing this area that is supposed to be the second richest spot in the world, if there was less control by local politicians who care nothing about anything but getting elected, and if they would concentrate on really and truly showing an interest in the welfare of the people, then we could move, I think.

Now, as far as agriculture in the Delta, we have what? We grow rice, that's a big crop; we grow beans; we grow a little cotton; and we are growing more livestock and, of course, you know you don't need labor for that kind of thing. So what they say to them now is this: "You can stay in this house without lights and without food, or you can go to Chicago. You have a choice. You can stay in this house"—that means the farmhouse—"without light and without food. We cannot employ you. We cannot feed you. We cannot be responsible even for your families." This is the tractor drivers.

The plantation economy cannot help these people. We are looking to the Federal Government, to every agency of the Federal Government, to help us solve our economic problems. We have nowhere else to turn. We think it can be done, but we think that there is too much local control and not enough Federal supervision on a national level. Maybe I'm wrong, but that's how I feel and that is what I am saying.

I would like to say that this is not the only problem in my county. We have other problems, like health problems. For every one white child that dies in his first year, nine Negro kids die. We are at least five times above the national average in death, because in many instances the mother is suffering from malnutrition; the kid had nothing to eat. These problems, it seems to me, should be solved because we are Americans and we are human beings, and being human beings we should really be treated like human beings.

Now, I don't know whether anybody really cares for the Mississippi Negro or not. I keep wondering about that. I keep asking myself that question. Do they really care? But I know one thing, that something is going to have to be done about the condition as it exists in the Mississippi Delta.

Yes, I know these people are farm people; they have never had any kind of skill. But I think they can be trained, because in 1942 when I went overseas to China, India, and Burma to fight for this country, quite a number of my people from Mississippi went into the factories in the industrial Middle West and North and West and learned to build planes and tanks and guns to defend this country. If they could do that, then they could certainly be trained for some kind of work now.

So I am suggesting that we move immediately to set up training programs in the Mississippi Delta to train people to be employed by industry that can be brought in. The Federal Government must get down to the grassroots level to assist in organizing and supporting the efforts of local groups in putting together real programs aimed toward the community development and the elimination of poverty, broaden their opportunity for the poor to make decisions in crucial areas which affect their lives, and stop having people get behind closed doors and making decisions for large numbers of people. This is bad, but it has been going on. Like the stamp program—the board of supervisors of the State welfare board and everybody else knew all about the Stamp Act, and we found out about it a few days ago. Well, we don't need any stamps unless, of course, they are free stamps.

Finally, the Federal Government through the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare can no longer permit the Mississippi use of Federal funds in the area of public welfare and education. Maybe one day if you come into Mississippi and find out how tight money is being used, it might be very interesting.

If there is food available we suggest that you feed the poor. Now, we have spent quite a bit of money all over this world helping people. We built the economy of Europe, we are doing something in Asia, and now I suggest that we move around in our own backyard, right here in the Mississippi Delta, and try to eliminate some of the poverty and also find the cause of this poverty. I have always said it was the plantation economy that caused it, 50 years of plantation life, two generations back.

I appeal to you, I beg you, to please come into the Delta and try to help us.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Moore.

Mr. Gibson, please.

Mr. GIBSON: The last time I saw you was just prior to the beginning of the Coahoma County's opportunity project which, as I recall, was going to be a grand trial ritual in the Delta. There was going to be literacy training, and there was going to be vocational training. It was going to be exactly the kind of thing you begin your recommendations with.

You had some misgivings about this project, and you and a group of people were very concerned this project was about to begin because you didn't think it was going to do what it said it was going to do. Apparently it has not done that. Would you repeat to this group the kind of defect that was in that Coahoma County project—which said it was to be literacy training and which said it was to be vocational training for this population—what that defect was which made this project come to naught, essentially, in terms of the vocational training as it has?

Mr. MOORE: I'm not sure I can answer that question, sir. I can express an opinion.

The Coahoma County project was to be a pilot project consisting of some 13 counties, with more than 259,000 people. It was built around the local power structure and the established, responsible Negroes; and because of the conservative points of view of some of our more conservative people, I really didn't think it had a chance to get off the ground in the first place.

The next thing is that there was not enough participation of the poor, it seems to me, in that program from top to bottom. I think if any program in this Delta or anywhere else is going to be a success, you are going to have to have maximum, feasible participation of the poor in these programs. I think maybe because of the fact that the very people that it was desiring to help were left out of it, it didn't have a possible chance to succeed.

The CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Jackson.

Mrs. JACKSON: What is an established, responsible Negro?

Mr. MOORE: Well, that's a Negro who is paid by State funds and who is employed by the State and who must think as the State thinks and act as the State says to act.

Mrs. JACKSON: What have you done to overcome the lack of leadership? Someone referred to it earlier this morning as ignorance, lack of education, just general education among the people whom you would like to place in responsible positions in reference to a poverty program. Have you done anything—I am not talking about skills training now—among the poor? There may be, it has been implied here, a lack of individual leadership. What are you doing or what can we do to produce it among the poor so that you don't have to be led by an established, responsible person?

Mr. MOORE: I would like to make this statement: First, that we who are educated in Mississippi—and I can talk about Mississippi; I live there—are educated under a system, or there is a curriculum set up by the State Department of Education that educates Negroes for leadership among Negroes. Now, that type of education might limit you in several ways. So we are not sure always, unless a man is very strong, that he will be willing to go against the normal channels and actually come over and say, "I am going to take up the responsibility of leadership." Because if he does that, he knows that maybe he is going to starve, or maybe he will not be employed, or maybe his debts will not be paid. So, therefore, when I talked about established Negroes, I talk about people who can't work because of certain restrictions on their lives and on their activities. But now we are going about finding people who are potential leaders, who have——

Mrs. JACKSON (interrupting): These are the ones I want you to talk about.

Mr. MOORE: We are finding people who are willing to sacrifice for the purpose of training and not only getting basic education but also doing things, getting into the community, organizing people, teaching them how to organize themselves, teaching them the responsibility of first-class citizenship and taking them around to the idea of not letting people make decisions for them but making them for themselves. We are doing that. We are doing it through Headstart, through political action, and we have several methods we are using for that specific purpose.

Mr. Gibson: I am very interested in this particular training project and the steps there, because I think all of us share with you the idea that we must find a way to train people for a kind of economy that can sustain them in an area and in every other of our depressed areas in the country.

There was to be literacy training, and since there was a concrete example of an attempt to do it, there was to be literacy training and vocational training under the Coahoma County project. As I recall, OEO was going to provide funds for literacy training; the Manpower Development Training Act program was to be coordinated through the United States Employment Service, is that correct?

Mr. Moore: Well, I think you know that on a local level you have your board of supervisors and your local government, and these are independent bodies who are not very apt to come directly under the supervision of a Negro. These people created, set up in many instances, their own CAP boards, and certainly didn't want to, or that is in my county, accept this type of thing from the Coahoma program.

In the meantime, they have tried to get the type of program that you are talking about, but we also have another thing that we call STAR that's operating in Bolivar County that is doing the thing that you are talking about, but it is a slow process.

Mr. Gibson: Does it have vocational training?

Mr. Moore: No, but it has adult education.

Mr. Gibson: So Bolivar County never participated in the Coahoma County project?

Mr. Moore: No.

Mr. Gibson: That 13-county project never did become a reality because of local political influence?

Mr. Moore: That's right.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: I believe an earlier witness from Mississippi suggested that some of the things that might help to cure the problems in Mississippi was subsidization of the small farmer, that is, subsidizing the small farmer, keeping him in the rural area, and subsidizing adult education along with youth education, and I inferred from what you said there is also a need for industry. You aren't thinking in terms of the people leaving Mississippi, but of industry to employ them.

Mr. Moore: Yes, sir.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: But you said about education that the traditional pattern of education might not produce that kind of leadership. So you are thinking in terms of a different kind of education, differently oriented than the traditional type of education we have?

Mr. Moore: That's correct.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Do you think this whole package would help a great deal, what the previous testimony was plus what you said, or do you disagree on the matter of the small farmer?

Mr. Moore: Say, a 160-acre farmer, it costs so much for him to farm.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: You don't think he could survive?

Mr. Moore: I don't think he could survive.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: You are not suggesting he subsidize—he should become larger or get out of business?

Mr. Moore: This area should be industrialized.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: One other thing. Do you think you are going to have a separate system of education where the child would be trained by two different systems? Do you think they ought to overhaul the system of the State?

Mr. Moore: I would like to say this, that the educational system of the State certainly has proven to be a failure beyond a reasonable doubt; and since it is a failure, in my opinion it should be revised.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: The whole thing?

Mr. Moore: That's correct.

The Chairman: Mr. Ford.

Mr. Ford: Let me ask you one question. I don't know if I quite followed you, Mr. Moore. You made a suggestion here that the land that has been taken out of cultivation be turned over to people and farmed. Now, I'm sure that you are well aware that most of this, much of it taken out of cultivation, was because of surpluses and to reduce production. Are you suggesting that we put that land back into production?

Mr. Moore: That's a good question, sir. I think maybe that the Mississippi Delta, like Florida and California, can grow other crops. A diversified farming can be carried on in the Mississippi Delta, and it doesn't have to be cotton.

Mr. Ford: Well, they turn to soybeans.

Mr. Moore: That's the rich man's crop.

Mr. Ford: What other crops are you suggesting?

Mr. Moore: Beans, squash, white potatoes.

Mr. Ford: You are suggesting truck farming as a possibility?

Mr. Moore: That's correct; that's right.

Mr. King: Why do you call soybeans a rich man's crop? I am asking because Illinois is the No. 1 soybean producer. I think I have missed something in Illinois.

Mr. Moore: Well, the only reason I say that is because the man who has 40 acres, a poor man who has 40 acres, he's got maybe 4 or 5 acres of cotton; he's got to have a little for his truck patches; and he just doesn't have the money and the land to do this kind of thing—the farmer I am talking about.

Mr. King: But soybeans are a real good price and international demand is on the upswing for them, so I think it is a real good crop.

Forgive me for getting off the subject, but he touched home there.

The Chairman: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: I am curious, Mr. Moore, about your discussion of the small farm. To extend this one more step, do you think if we succeeded in providing 100 percent of parity for the small farmer he would survive?

Mr. Moore: Well, that's a good question. I think this, I think that in 1937 under the New Deal, the Roosevelt Administration—he set up what was known as the Farm Security Administration. And what happened during that time was that they brought supervisors in, bought the land and taught the people how to make a budget and how to farm, and as a result, we have a few of those farms around now. I think when it is left entirely up to the Farmers Home Administration and other Federal agencies who are controlled by local people, that you are not going to get the result that you normally would get if it was really almost directly under the supervision of the Federal Government. I am talking about land for poor people now and how they can help themselves.

If every man had, say, 35, 40, 50, 60 acres and he could grow enough food to sell to the market, to take care of himself, plus a little cotton, or a few hogs, a few cows, I think that he could survive, definitely. But right now he doesn't have the land. He can't buy the land. He can't feed his family. He doesn't have anywhere to live because almost 75 percent of the houses are two-room shacks where you have from 1 to 15 people living in that one shack. He has never had a bathroom in many of these places. The environment in which he lives and the conditions under which he lives are of such nature until now I think it will take a whole lot more.

Mr. Bonnen: So what you are saying is the price of the product isn't the whole answer to his problem.

Mr. Moore: That's right.

Mr. Craddock: Is anyone allowed to voice any words here?

The Chairman: I would think we could have one.

Mr. Craddock: The reason I say it, this particularly——

The Chairman (interrupting): Would you identify yourself, please.

Mr. Craddock: Yes, sir. I am connected with, I guess, 90 percent of the processing that's done by small farmers in the Midsouth.

The Chairman: Your name, please.

Mr. Craddock: My name is Craddock, C-r-a-d-d-o-c-k.

I didn't read about this until this morning, and I have been working on this one project. We have thousands of acres of okra and peas and other things that are grown by the small farmer—some in Minnesota, but principally in Tennessee and Arkansas. I work with Birds Eye, General Foods Company, and Memphis Frozen Foods, Tennessee Frozen Foods. Right not I am right in the middle of this wage and hour thing—which was to be his address upon this minimum, particularly in the relationship of the sharecropper and the definition of the sharecropper—working with Mr. Sawyer as a local wage and hour director, trying to get some clarification upon this particular thing and seeing what we can do.

In addition to that, I have worked with a bunch over in Crittenden County, which is Delta, with Mr. Tom Vaughan. He is the colored county assistant agent for the last 2 years.

Last spring I was there at a banquet. We had some 600 there that were colored families, mostly that have reached the point of independence in growing these crops.

I have set up another program in Ripley, Tenn. for the 16th of February. This is sponsored by McNeil, the principal of the school—Lauderdale County High School; it is a colored school—and Williams, and McOlive. The 16th we will have him over there, plus some agricultural agents from the university, setting up these crops of higher income. They have an income of from $500 to $600 up to $1,000 an acre, where a person with the direction of what Tom Vaughan has done in Crittenden County—I am from Marion—the same thing can be done in this area, to keep these people on the farm to where they and their family can make a decent living for themselves and their children, clothe them, and send them to school and educate them, and become what I term real—take their place in society. Regardless of our race, color, or anything else, it is our responsibility. And mind you, this is one thing—I hope I am not boring you, but this is the truth—I have found that if this approach is used you will get the support of the influential, intelligent white people in this area.

Now, while we had this banquet—some 600 was present with all of them—there was five or six of the biggest landowners in that county came by and just stopped and said, "We just want you to know if it is a question of land that we have got all the land you want." I can show you innumerable cases where land was actually given to people free to help.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Craddock.

We will have to proceed with our program now. I am unable, I am sorry, at this moment to have other comment from the audience.

Thank you very much, Mr. Moore. You have been a great help, indeed, and you have been very clear and explicit in your answers. We appreciate your help.

Mr. Moore, have you filed your testimony with our secretary?

Mr. MOORE: Yes, I have.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

The next witness on our program is Mrs. Ida Lawrence, Greenville, Miss.

Mrs. Lawrence, we welcome you. Do you live in the country or do you live in the town?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: I live in the rural community.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you have a family of children?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: I have eight children.

The CHAIRMAN: How small is the smallest?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: Three years old.

The CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Lawrence, if you would just tell us what you would like us to hear, please.

STATEMENT OF IDA LAWRENCE

Mrs. LAWRENCE: One thing I'd like for you to hear is that people living in the rural are living in unqualified homes and they doesn't have proper houses. They need jobs, job training programs to fit peoples into so they will be able to make a decent living for themselves.

The CHAIRMAN: Have you done some work out of your home?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: I beg your pardon?

The CHAIRMAN: Have you done some work out of your home or are you just a housewife?

Mrs. Lawrence: Well, I don't have any work to do; there is not any jobs available.

The Chairman: Mr. King.

Mr. King: I don't want to embarrass you. What would your educational level be?

Mrs. Lawrence: Sixth grade.

Mr. King: Have you tried to enroll in any adult education programs or are there none available?

Mrs. Lawrence: No, I haven't. They aren't available.

Mr. King: Not where you live.

The Chairman: Mrs. Caldwell, please.

Mrs. Caldwell: Mrs. Lawrence, what do you want for your children? I mean, if you could say what you want your children to have——

Mrs. Lawrence (interrupting): I want my children to have a decent education that they could get a decent job, and above all, I want them to have a comfortable home to live in where they can eat proper and sleep proper.

Mrs. Caldwell: What do you want them to grow up to be?

Mrs. Lawrence: That depends on what they want to be.

The Chairman: That's a very good answer. How old is your oldest child, Mrs. Lawrence?

Mrs. Lawrence: My oldest son is 18 years old.

The Chairman: Is he in high school?

Mrs. Lawrence: He is in Coahoma Junior College, Clarksdale, Miss.

The Chairman: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. Laurel: Now, Mrs. Lawrence, you are married, and is your husband working now? Is he gainfully employed?

Mrs. Lawrence: Well, I am a little of both. I was married; now I am separated.

Mr. Laurel: I didn't hear you, ma'am.

Mrs. Lawrence: I say I was married, but now I am separated. I don't have a husband living with me.

Mr. Laurel: So you have to provide, then, for your family of eight?

Mrs. Lawrence: Right.

Mr. Laurel: When you work, or if you were able to get work, what kind of work would you do? Have you been given any particular training, or do you have any specialty that maybe you could provide better or get better wages at, or what is the situation, Mrs. Lawrence?

Mrs. Lawrence: I have did farmwork that I am against. I am a licensed midwife with the State, and I can do most anything.

Mr. Laurel: All of your children who are of school age, are they going to school now?

Mrs. Lawrence: Yes.

Mr. Laurel: You haven't, in other words, encouraged that they drop out of school or miss the opportunity of getting an education?

Mrs. Lawrence: Well, I had two kicked out of school, but other than that they likes to go to school and I haven't been having any trouble keeping them in school. My children are going to an integrated school. They are not quite ready for the children. For some reason or another, every week or so one or two kids gets kicked out of school.

Mr. LAUREL: Is that as a result of misbehavior on their part?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: Well, that's what they say.

The CHAIRMAN: You are a licensed midwife. Are you practicing as a midwife now, or is this an inactive business?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: Well, I don't know quite what you mean. I'm not working.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: You work when you get an opportunity to work?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: Right. Right now the hospitals and doctors are making all the money.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any other questions?

Mrs. Jackson.

Mrs. JACKSON: Mrs. Lawrence, you mentioned housing two or three times, and I have just tried to travel in my mind back home with you. I imagine you are very dissatisfied with your housing. Do you sometimes want to blame somebody about the conditions of your home in which you and your family live? Who is it that you want to blame?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: Well, I think you know who is to blame, the folks that the houses belong to. If people there would give funds to prepare or develop home projects where people can live decent, I don't know, whoever them folks is that manage that money.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Could you pay rent if you had better housing?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: No. How, without a job?

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: So you need housing and you need work?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: I need housing and a job, some kind of a job training so people can work.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there any opportunity for you as a midwife to work in a hospital?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: No, they got nurses there.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. GALLEGOS: Is there an antipoverty program in Greenville that—for example, Headstart program, Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. Are there any——

Mrs. LAWRENCE (interrupting): Let's take one at a time.

Mr. GALLEGOS: The Headstart program that takes care of children before they go to school.

Mrs. LAWRENCE: In some parts of Greenville there is, but there happen to be not where I live. And those Neighborhood Youth Corps, whatever you call that, why, they——

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS (interrupting): Those programs are just to help them when they are in school.

Mrs. LAWRENCE: That don't help the kids in school because they have to put all their time in school.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Don't they get those jobs in the summer—NYC jobs, Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs—so they can have some money to go back to school? It didn't operate in Greenville?

Mrs. LAWRENCE: Not since I have been living there. I live in the rural. Now, I can't tell you what is going on in Greenville city.

Mr. GALLEGOS: What kind of programs exist, if any? It sounds like, you know, there may be a little bit of Headstart in other places.

But in your community, specifically, are there any programs which do exist but which are not open to everyone there? You said that you would like to see some employment programs to provide training opportunities. Are there any Manpower Development—MDTA programs, or any training programs in existence at all in your community?

Mrs. Lawrence: No, not that I know of.

The Chairman: Mr. King, may I——

Mr. Gallegos (interrupting): How many people live in Greenville? How many residents are there?

Mrs. Lawrence: In Greenville?

Mr. Gallegos: In your community where you live. Is that your community, Greenville?

Mrs. Lawrence: I live at Freedom City. You might have heard of that. That's out from Greenville. There are quite a few Negroes in this population, but it is 14 families living actually where I live. And most of us are without jobs.

The Chairman: Mr. King.

Mr. King: May I ask, is your son working his way through this junior college, or how is he providing for his education? On a scholarship? Or what method is he using to educate himself?

Mrs. Lawrence: He works sometimes, and he gets help from friends he knows sometimes.

Mr. King: He gets help from what?

Mrs. Lawrence: He gets help from friends he knows.

Mr. King: Thank you.

Mrs. Jackson: I don't know much about Freedom Village. Would you mind telling us about it, the 14 families of you that live there?

Mrs. Lawrence: Well, most of the people living there are people that was throwed off of plantations and they didn't have anywhere to go. The main problem, mechanics and chemistries knocked thousands of people out of jobs that was working on plantations for little or nothing, and when the plantation owners decided that they didn't no longer need these people, then they didn't have any place to go. Freedom City developed last February when people were there, went to the Federal Government asking for jobs and land and food, and we were turned down at that particular time. The people started out on their own, tried to do something for theirself, asking for support and help from other peoples, and that's how Freedom City became.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Could I ask, Mrs. Lawrence, just this: Where do the children go, yours and others, in a similar situation after they finish school? Are they able to get jobs in Greenville or near Freedom City? Do they go north? What happens to them?

Mrs. Lawrence: Well, there haven't been any finished school yet and left, but I imagine they'd have to go north.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: There are no jobs around to which they could go?

Mrs. Lawrence: No.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mrs. Lawrence. We appreciate your coming.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Mr. Chairman, might I take this privilege as a member here? A few minutes ago a gentleman gave some testimony. This doesn't relate to Mrs. Lawrence, but it was with respect program that helps truck farmers and small farmers and, of course, he got the privilege of making this statement from the floor.

There was a lady back there, Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamen, who wanted to make some comment. In checking with her, I find that her statement would be a little in contradiction.

Now, inasmuch as this gentleman was permitted to make a statement, I would like if you could give her just a little time to make whatever statement she had. It would take, I think, just a minute, even from her seat. I think—in all fairness to her, I think she should be allowed to make her comment.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mrs. Lawrence. We appreciate you being here.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mrs. Hamen from Mississippi.

Mrs. **Hamen**: My name is Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamen.

The only thing, I'm sorry that the man got away before I got to tell him about it, because that same thing that he was talking about with those truck patches with those well-established Negroes—these are the people that even in Headstart programs get the headstart. People that's there without don't get a chance. I wanted to tell him that. You know, I know about these things because we have been passing them and we have been seeing them, but to these Negroes that's well established, they don't even see us as their own people, and that wasn't true. I just wanted to tell him while he was here.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: My only reason is just to get it in the record.

The **Chairman**: That's fine, and we will try to make sure he gets the record. Thank you very much.

Now, this group of witnesses that we have heard has been under the label Farms and Farm Labor. The next area is Rural to City Migration. The person who is first on our list is Dr. Cleo Blackburn, Flanner House, Indianapolis.

Mr. **Blackburn**: Does someone want these papers?

The **Chairman**: Yes. I am glad you are going to digest that for us.

STATEMENT OF CLEO BLACKBURN

Mr. **Blackburn**: I bring you greetings from the Board for Fundamental Education which has been concerned with this program. I'd like to make two ad hoc remarks, if I can, before I make my official remarks. That is, that this program is being held exactly 19 years too late, that in 1947 when International Harvester decided to build the cottonpicker and build its plant here in Memphis and indicated it was going to be in the field in 1950, as Dr. Hutchins knows, because I was a guest in his home about 3 months later, we predicted then that this would happen to the population who depended for some 70 years on the cotton industry which had been sick for some 50 years before that, because any industry that uses its personnel only 16 weeks a year, 8 weeks to chop it and 8 weeks to pick it— So what I have to say this morning has to do with a kind of program which we have tried to build and which we have been concerned with since 1947.

I would like simply to preface it by saying that the members of our board of directors—Mr. Meyer, Sears Roebuck and Company; Mr. Palmer of the National Induction Conference Board—bring you greetings.

If I can put in quotes, and everybody knows how great America is and how truly great it is to be an American and how living in America, the most prosperous of all countries, is the envy of all nations. Everybody knows our physical might is legend, but there are some things that everybody knows and everybody has wanted to ignore. One of the most fascinating, challenging things of this Commission is that we are now waking up and starting to talk about Uncle Willie has a little "loconotiatakis," and facing up to the hard, cold fact that Uncle Willie has syphilis, and if we don't catch him soon he is going to die.

I would also like to ask the gentleman who raises soybeans in Illinois, he knows the average capital investment to raise soybeans in Illinois for an economic farm is about $60,000, tractors, farms, and that sort of thing, so that that kind of soybean raising in Mississippi just isn't applicable. It happens that I am a Mississippian. I was born in Port Gibson and lived in Mound Bayou, Miss. I was educated in Mississippi until I got ready to go to high school, and in those days if you wanted your youngster to have a good education you had to send him to a private school. I am not talking fiction; I am talking out of my own experience as a boy and as a man and as a teacher in my teaching experience which began in a small college in Knoxville, Tenn., at the advent of DSA, and then continued to a place called Tuskegee. I am awfully sorry my friend Dr. Gomillion can't be here this morning.

Now I would like to get to what I have to say.

At this point in history, America must begin to blend the sounds of symphony, of the symphony of community hope and promise. We must now become engineers and find ways to secure for every citizen in every section of our country the luxury of this dream together so that there can become some hope of realization of the American dream. America has become great in significance because of the joining together of the private sector and the governmental sector, and it can only be done in Mississippi or Alabama or Arkansas or Texas—where I spent 15 years as the president of a private college—it can only be done by both the private and the public sector working together. Those of us who are old men remember—I deeply appreciate Mr. Moore's testimony, because we took the boys out of the cotton and corn and tobacco patches of this country and in 14 weeks we had them operating machines, and in 39 weeks we had them flying B–29 bombers all over the world. So this is no new challenge, as Dr. Davis knows. It is a matter of America deciding to commit the minds and the men and the money on America, its private and its public sector. Until that commitment is finally made, this job can never be done by Americans who want to do something but not much.

The second thing I should like to add is that all America suffers from this. We could add to the purchasing power of the South many times more than the actual cost of developing the program. Not only do Negroes in the South suffer, but the small businessman and the big businessman suffers. You talk about the automobile industry as being soft. Suppose these people could buy automobiles and refrigerators. I mean, we are all in the same boat whether we like it or not. There is no need of my quoting statistics and figures to you; you know them all; you have them all. Some of us are old. I worked for 5 years with Charles Johnson. We know the story; we know what the statistics are. They have simply been accentuated by automation.

I own a small farm in Port Gibson, Miss. It has been in my family since 1858, 160 acres, and it is too poor to raise a fuss on. We have to go over to our neighbor's house to get mad. I own another small farm in Mound Bayou in Mississippi, about 80 acres. The net income is $1,200 a year on it. We advocated in 1947—I drove 67,000 miles in Arkansas, in Louisiana, in Mississippi, in Texas, to talk about developing an agri-industrial program, which meant 30 hours of industry and 20 hours of agriculture which could provide the kind of cow and calf programs, vegetable programs, and provide a basis for basic education for people around us. People laughed at me. Nobody listened until 3 years later. People began to migrate into Los Angeles County at 10,000 a month. They found the sewers were too small. The head of the department of economics at Chicago University refused to give the migration figures to Chicago at that time. I am saying that now we have come to the point in history that this becomes a job for both the private and the public sector. As I look in this room this morning, gentlemen, there are few decision makers here. And now this job has to be done by the people who are going to make the decisions for what is going to happen to business, what is going to happen to agriculture, and what is going to happen to this country. Because, believe me, rural poverty today not only is not a new challenge, but it also is a great contributor to urban poverty in every great metropolitan center of this country.

This is not just a problem of Louisiana and Arkansas and Mississippi and Georgia. It is equally significant a problem for New York and Pennsylvania and Michigan and Ohio and Indiana and Illinois, and the entire West Coast. So now we have to get minds and men and commitments as big as the problem. It is sort of like that very fine Baptist preacher down at High Point, N.C., said, "You can't jump across a wide, deep, surging river if you can't swim in two jumps." The little piecemeal attempts we have been making, the little fragmentary efforts—you could spend a whole billion seven hundred fifty million dollars in New York and still not solve the problem of that one town. I am saying that we must find a program that's as big as the problem, and nobody in this country has given that sort of comprehensive and engineering skill and understanding to it.

I want to talk now for the rest of the time that's left to me about the programs of the organization I represent. We recognized in 1952 this problem, and because of this, under the leadership of a Mr. Sam Rayburn and a Senator Lyndon Johnson, the Board for Fundamental Education was organized and given a national charter. We have given our interest and our concern to trying to get Government and business to come together, to really work at the problems of people who have been bypassed by opportunity. So now the Board for Fundamental Education suggests again a new all-out thrust be undertaken in the South as well as the rest of America, that portion of our nation, rich in natural resources and human talent, that portion of our nation which has been preserved and enriched in our country, expand and grow, that we add to it the human coefficient of talent as well as the great natural resources of climate, of soil, of timber, and that we bring together here both human and material resources, that we can experience and share the brotherhood of riches and unity of spirit and purpose to produce the kind of region we need.

Where do we go and how do we begin? First we must solve the problem of education in the South. The rate of illiteracy in the South is three times that in the North. The rate of illness, the rate of income—you name it; the great discrepancies are there. The migration in the South began in 1914, not in 1950. We were losing first our illiterates, and now Dr. Davis is losing his professors. I mean, the point is that you are losing not only the poor who are overcrowding your slums, but you are also losing the intelligent. The great corporations are picking them off so they can have theirs; I got mine. I got a call last week from one of the great corporations of this country asking me about a great man in Georgia, an economist who has been there, but he wants him. He is going to hire him, because he is going to pay him $7,000 more for the job he is going to get than the job he now has teaching. He is going to lose him for the same reason I lost Jim Gibson; I couldn't pay him. This is the kind of program that the South has to face up to, and this is not the kind of program that can be done piecemeal.

Therefore, we have left the education of the young to the established educational system. And I should like to talk to you for a moment about adult education. We have developed a program of adult education by which in 150 instructional hours we can give a person 4 years of education. To put it simply, in 2 years we can bring a person from zero literacy through the high school equivalent. Realizing that the great hub around which the wide wheel of poverty revolves, then, gentlemen, the undereducated breadwinner who has no marketable and productive skills to earn a right for himself and his family becomes our chief concern. The Board for Fundamental Education, therefore, created and began this program for adults.

However, I should like to suggest that significant successes have been registered in its application to youth and high school dropouts. I would also like to suggest that examples of the practical application of this can be seen in the State of North Carolina with Dr. Neff, where we trained some 3,300 teachers and put some 30,000 people in class. But we found that perhaps the most important place to do this is not in community action programs—as I said to Mr. Shriver's organization when they were starting the Job Corps—and not outside of the world of work in some CCC camp, but in plants, because these people need to be educated in the atmosphere of the world of work. They need the discipline of getting to work on time. We know that education is caught as well as taught, and a great classroom for this great body of people can be found in our urban centers.

We are suggesting to the corporations that they take the labor pools that they have who are trapped, because we made an arbitrary decision in 1958 that a high school diploma was the beginning point, and we have frozen into service pools and into utility pools thousands of people. In Birmingham, Ala., alone, the United States Steel Company has 3,000 men in its labor pool who are stuck there because they simply can't pass the entrance examination and get into the progress ranks. We have done this now for a number of companies. We are suggesting that they take their maintenance and service employees and train them quickly because they have seen themselves bypassed by youngsters who have so-called qualifications. You and I know that some 80 percent, or let's say at least 75 percent, of the youngsters who find themselves in industry after finishing high school are not performing at the high school level. Our experience has been that the average youngster whether he works in a bank or whether he works in a factory after he finishes high school, his performance is at about the 10th grade level. The average person who puts on his application that he went to the 9th grade is performing at about the 4th grade level. This is true not only in industry, but this is true generally.

Therefore, our experience at the Diamond Electrical Company in Houston, Tex., demonstrated this was practical. They had some 60 employees in a labor pool who had been there for 9 years. They didn't encourage these people to go to night school, to go to high school, but in 9 years only two made it. We began a program with them, and in 5 months 40 percent of the people who attended our classes passed the examination and are now earning $1,200 more on the year than they were in the labor pool. Other companies who are using this program now happen to be Eastman Kodak Company, the Olin Mathieson Chemical Company, the Equitable Life Assurance Company, the Caterpillar Tractor Company, the E. I. Dupont Company, the Dallas Merchants Association.

I am saying that we have designed a practical, down-to-earth, workable program which makes money for business and which gives creative, meaningful, employable experiences to Negroes. In a labor market like this, it is much cheaper to train than it is to recruit. The only problem is that America has to make up its mind and commit the men and the minds and the money to engineer this job the same way they tried to engineer our space job, or any other major problem America has tackled—until we can fly this way at 45,000 feet. You simply can't do this with a Piper Cub. It is going to get tumbled and broken down and it will wreck itself in local political expediency, time and time again.

Lastly, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to simply suggest that in addition to education there is a need for housing. The Board for Fundamental Education has developed what is called a self-help housing program by which people can build houses at 61 percent of their market value. We have housed over 400 families in homes worth $10,000 to $15,000 with mortgages ranging from $7,000 to $9,000. As a matter of fact, I guess the best critical review of this kind of performance was expressed in a study of the Ford Foundation by Mr. Margolies, who suggested that this approach has been more meaningful than the self-help program for the poor who have lack of capital. We suggested to a large foundation some 2 years ago that an investment of $5 million in this area could generate from banks credit amounting to $50 million at a rate of some 10 to 1 for interim financing. All these people back here who need housing have one problem—not an FHA mortgage, but interim financing with which to build that house. Ten million dollars of private capital can generate fifty million dollars of bank credit. This job can be done, but nobody has really put their minds to work at it.

Another critical problem is the problem of health. The Board for Fundamental Education pioneered the first multiphasing screening program for this country in 1947 to '52, in which we could detect early chronic diseases before it was too late. Most of the people whom I represent either in the slums of Indiana or in the rural areas of east Texas, when they find they are ill, it is a little late. Cancer has gone too far; they are running their first preliminary hemorrhages; and they are having diabetic shock. Because, you see, they just feel sick. For generations they have stumbled through feeling sick. So we suggest that the private sector and the public sector and its Government join hands to provide a massive program in housing, in education, in employment, and in health.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to suggest that the organization that I represent, who has been working at this program now for about 30 years, would like to make available to you and your associates any of our resources, to work with you and with the Government with our experience and our resources for the South for the benefit not only of the rural poor here, but wherever they may live.

Thank you.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Dr. Blackburn. I appreciate your very constructive approach to the problem.

Don't leave; we are going to ask you some questions.

I appreciate very much your offer of assistance of your organization and your association. We appreciate these statements greatly.

Are there any questions which the Commissioners would like to address to Dr. Blackburn?

Mr. Laurel.

Mr. **Laurel**: Doctor, I am very much impressed with your presentation—your deep and philosophic and practical approach to the problem and, of course, recommending solutions. In this kind of inquiry we always get presented with problems, and no one is actually making a recommendation to the proper solution. You have made both, and in a most impressive manner.

You mentioned that you have been in Texas. Where were you there, Doctor?

Mr. **Blackburn**: A little place called Hawkins, Tex., population 680.

Mr. **Laurel**: Well, we lost a great professor, then, when we lost you, apparently.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: You were president of Jarvis, weren't you?

Mr. **Blackburn**: I am not chairman of the board. I was president, yes.

Mr. **Laurel**: Will you give us a little background? I am fully unaware of the work that you are doing at Flanner House. Can you give us just a little background there, Doctor?

Mr. **Blackburn**: Well, they kicked me out of the classroom, sir, back in 1936 because I didn't have sense enough to teach and because I was vitally interested in the field of migration. On the day they inaugurated Fred Patterson, a great sociologist by the name of Robert E. Park walked into my office and said, "What the hell are you doing in Macon County?" People didn't migrate into Macon County; they migrated away from here. I got mad in the middle of the year and quit my job and moved to a slum in the middle of Indianapolis called Flanner House, in which we have tried to work out meaningful programs for people who have moved from rural areas into northern industrial areas. In other words, sir, I have committed my whole professional life to helping people make transitions from the mill to the tractor and from the farm to the shop. Flanner House has been the experimental station for the Board for Fundamental Education that has done this.

Mr. **Laurel**: It has been financed by——

Mr. **Blackburn** (interrupting): Not well, but it is financed by both Government—we have a couple of Government contracts—we have foundation help, we have local United Fund help.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Dr. Blackburn, I appreciate your understanding and sympathy for us struggling in education. You had sense enough to get out.

Mr. **Blackburn**: I beg your pardon?

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I inferred, and I think you said it so well from your statement, first of all, that these people can be trained; they can be educated; they can be motivated. I mean these people that come out of the rural areas into the cities or who come out of the plantation areas into the small towns can be educated, and they are best educated at the scene of the society in which they are going to live and the environment in which they are going to live. Secondly, I believe I understood from what you said that you believe that America can afford to do it economically, maybe the reverse, America cannot afford not to do it, and that by educating these people and employing them, we increase the economic power of our country, which would more than replace the funds spent and give us a prosperous economy and a prosperous people. I think I get from what you say that we must want to do this and be willing to have a program big enough to do it.

Mr. **Blackburn**: This is right. I have just completed 15 workshops with the National Association of Manufacturers all over this country. Industry is now spending $10 million a year on continuing education for its employees, ranging all the way from Harriman House and from the graduate school at Harvard down to training in middle management. They have spent little money on the productive worker. I'd say if industry would commit 2 percent of that $10 million a year for 5 years—2 percent a year—they could make a real significant contribution to this country.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I also get from what you are saying, industry would do it if we knew how to approach it. You said repeatedly there has to be this partnership.

Mr. **Blackburn**: Yes. Unfortunately, industry now has—most of them, to my great sadness—has taken the point that the Government is spending about a million dollars a year on this, we pay our taxes, and so we are going to forget it, and industry has really abrogated the leadership in this field. In my last 2 years I had to run away from the college to try to work at a larger problem. Now, 38 million people in this area, 80 percent of whom are employed by industry, these are the figures. It seems to me, here is a great opportunity because once you educate these people—we can do it quickly, we can do it at a 6 month's level—they move up to higher jobs and then they open their first entry jobs for other people to come in. Yes, Dr. Davis, they can be educated; we are educating them every day.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. **Bonnen**: Dr. Blackburn, I take it Flanner House operates in Indianapolis. Where do most of your migrants in the Indianapolis area come from to you?

Mr. **Blackburn**: Well, those of us who have known the migrant streams know that the people who come to Indianapolis, to Chicago, to Cleveland, and to Detroit come up from Mississippi, Alabama, and North Carolina. The people who go to California start from Arkansas and Texas and Oklahoma. I mean, this has been established since 1914.

Mr. **Bonnen**: In your experience, what portion of these people successfully adapt themselves—let's take the word "successfully" out of there; they at least stay in this urban environment—and what portion of them get discouraged enough to go back to the rural areas?

Mr. **Blackburn**: This, sir, would be a guess. There is great disillusionment. They come with high hopes. They hear about a great money economy and they haven't had too much experience living in money economy, and this compounds their problems; but I suspect that more stay than come back. There are some who come back. But, you see, they can get relief in Indianapolis.

Mr. **Bonnen**: In the services you offer, how would you view the needs of these people generally, and then specifically within that context? What role does family planning play in this, if any at all?

Mr. **Blackburn**: You mean, do we have birth control clinics?

Mr. **Bonnen**: Right, and the kind of associated family services.

Mr. **Blackburn**: Yes. We feel that we have to take the total spectrum. This is what I meant when I said you can't jump half way across a ditch, you have to take the whole thing. Therefore, at Flanner House we have a small multiservice agency supplying many services in health, housing, education, social service, group work, group therapy. But it is small; it's peanuts. We have a staff of about 70, a budget of half a million a year, a job that should take maybe \$2½ million a year to do.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. **Gallegos**: Dr. Blackburn, I would like to ask you to comment a little more on your ideas regarding the in-plant training, people who need to be retained or trained for specific skills, and how we can begin to move in that direction. Your suggestion that maybe industry should begin to divert some of the costs that they sometimes receive from Federal contracts, for example, which does permit some training, but the problem of working it that way versus working through the established educational institutions. For example, most of MDTA training is coupled with employment services and the vocational schools of State departments.

Mr. **Blackburn**: Yes, we worked about 30 MDTA projects. This is not an either/or proposition. This is a matter of both/and. I mean, there are large numbers of youngsters who still have the motivation, who still have the will and the capacity, who can flow through and/or crowd the existing educational institutions. I think these programs should be expanded. There are also some 60 millions of people who have failed there and they have a sense of failure there. They didn't fail, sir, in the 10th grade when they dropped out. They failed in the 3d and 4th grade, and they sat there until they were 16, and, you see, they weren't going back. It is this group of people who we are challenging industry with. They are working as a janitor, they are working as a truck driver, as a yard sweeper, and we are suggesting to industry that they train these people by quick and improved methods. The average youngster who drops out of high school and goes back to high school in New York takes 7 years to finish. If you had four kids—and let's take educational TV. Are you going to put prime educational TV for an illiterate on the program at 7 o'clock in the evening when his kids want to see some shoot-'em-up, and he's got to say "Wait, I've got to learn how to read and write," or do you expect him to get up in the morning at 6 o'clock and get his education in a half hour and then dress and get to work? I am saying we just haven't been practical in these matters, gentlemen.

Now, how do we start? We start like every other major problem in this country has started. You start through the President's Economic Council.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Could I ask you on the question of education, because you have said so many stimulating things—

But this matter of requiring a high school diploma, I don't mean a high school education, but a high school diploma, I believe, in your opinion, is an impediment to some of the training programs that people need.

Mr. Blackburn: This is quite right.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: This is an important sort of thing to the whole program of vocational and other types of training, isn't it?

Mr. Blackburn: Yes. You see, we now know from experience that one does not need a high school diploma to perform many, many of the jobs in industry. One needs training. We also know that even in certain fine places like banks and like insurance companies, the Equitable Life Assurance Company, for instance, like Neiman-Marcus in Dallas, we don't want to talk about Memphis, but you know these kinds of stores, that people with high school diplomas—

Neiman-Marcus said to us, "We are a prestige store; we've got the pick of the crop of youngsters not only from all the high schools in Dallas, but from high schools 40 miles around us." You don't sit on the eighth floor of Neiman-Marcus with a beautiful woman, their personnel director. You simply ask her how many dollars she is losing a year in marking and looting and pricing. She says, "I am afraid to tell you." This problem of training has no correlation between the high school diploma, necessarily, and this man's ability to perform out here on the job.

Mr. Gibson: Dr. Blackburn, about the time I left the Board for Fundamental Education, 221D3 had come into existence—that section of the Housing Act which was to include nonprofit organizations and limited dividend corporations to assist in the construction of low and moderate income housing. I recall that you were very interested in seeing whether or not that sort of financial mechanism which would provide 100 percent financing could be adapted to the self-help housing projects which you had been carrying on and, therefore, carry down to a lower income group than you had been able to reach with the present project. How has that gone?

Mr. Blackburn: It has gone pretty well, Mr. Gibson. If you could perhaps come to visit us in March, we are going to break ground for a $3,950,000 one for about 294 families. But, here, again, we have not been able to get the formula down to reach the people we'd like to reach.

Mr. Gibson: Is this a self-help housing project?

Mr. Blackburn: The education is self-help. We hope that they will become co-ops in 5 years. The thing I should like to suggest in 221D3 is the condominium, which can be built in the townhouse type, and I am hoping to build three of these next year if the money market goes down.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions of our Commission? (No response.)

Dr. Blackburn, we appreciate your help. It has been positive and constructive.

Mr. **Blackburn**: Nice to have seen you again, sir. Give my regards to your wife.

The **Chairman**: Our next witness is James R. Thomas, director of Tuscarawas County legal services program in New Philadelphia, Ohio.

Welcome, Mr. Thomas. Glad to see someone from the Buckeye State. I began to feel lonesome.

Mr. **Thomas**: Thank you.

STATEMENT OF JAMES R. THOMAS

Mr. **Thomas**: May it please the Commission, I am the director of the Tuscarawas County Legal Services Association. This is financed by OEO, and we are a rural county of 80,000 people.

I might mention that I had been listening to the distinguished speakers here today, and especially to follow Dr. Blackburn is a pretty tough job for a small town lawyer. But I will attempt to tell you why I feel that our legal services project has a real and significant value and why it can be an asset and a help to the rural poor.

Getting back to our particular county, ours is a county of 80,000 and our largest city is only 15,000. I like to think of Tuscarawas County as being a rather typical Midwest county. In addition to serving as director of the County Legal Services Association, I have also served as a member of the Tri-County Action Agency for Tuscarawas, Carroll (which is 20,000) and Harrison (which is also 20,000), so that this is my source of reference when I speak of the problems of the rural poor.

The legal services associations or the legal services projects throughout the country have probably as their highest goal that of equal protection under law for all persons. At the same time the Federal Government, by emphasizing the urban poor problems and by deemphasizing the rural problems, especially in the area of legal services, has denied to the rural poor the equal protection of law. We find that virtually every large metropolitan center in the United States has a legal services project, and yet Tuscarawas County is the only typically rural county that I know of that has a rural legal services project. There are very few other projects, and most of these small projects have been on what I would consider almost an experimental basis. So that while on the one hand the legal services is telling the world that we are here to see everyone receives equal protection under the law, the very Federal Government which created this service is denying the rural poor the same equal protection.

Of course, this isn't surprising. From listening to the other speakers here this morning, this is typical of all the areas where the Federal Government has intervened. The large share of the pie has gone into the cities and, of course, another reason this has happened is, as I have observed in Tuscarawas County, the poor in our county are scattered here and there throughout the county. If one of you would come to Tuscarawas County, visit New Philadelphia, my home, visit some of the other small communities in Tuscarawas County, you would ask simply, "Where is the poverty?"

Because the small town, the small towns in America are by and large rather attractive places. Yet I can take you in our county to the edge of the town, to Spring Town, to Bear Town, any number of various little communities that are on the edges of the community, I can take you into the abandoned strip mine areas and show you shacks that should have been torn down. I can also take you to some of the abandoned farms and show you people who are living there in substandard housing. In Tuscarawas County, we have 22 percent of our housing which is substandard by recent poll.

After listening to the gentleman from Alabama and some of the other Southern States, this isn't a large percentage. And yet if that 22 percent of our homes in Tuscarawas County, if that were all placed in one centralized area or in one spot, if all of these homes would be suddenly transposed into one area, think what an impact this would have. To go on, think what an impact it would have in Alabama if all of the 90 percent of these homes could be drawn into one slum area. I submit that it would probably be declared a disaster area and everyone down to the Red Cross would be called in to help. But because the poor are scattered, because there is no relationship between them, the Federal Government and legal services, as in other areas, simply has not placed the emphasis that I feel and that I think should be placed.

Another reason that the rural poor have been denied legal services is that there has been no previous legal aid or no previous methods of serving the indigent poor in the rural communities. The large city areas have always—not always, but for almost a hundred years—the large cities areas have had some type of legal aid. As a result it has been terribly inadequate, understaffed, underpaid and, of course, they just weren't able to do the job, but at least they have had some legal aid.

In Tuscarawas County there has never been legal aid. I bet there isn't a county in Alabama that's ever had legal aid. This is true of virtually every small county in the United States. So that when the Federal Government says, well, how can you demonstrate the need, the rural counties frankly are up against it, because we can't do as some of the larger cities have done. They go to their legal aid society and say, "How many cases did you handle last year?" The answer would be, "We handled 1,000 cases per man." They say, "My goodness, this is a real need." In Tuscarawas County we have never had this service, so we are hard pressed to say we need it. Before I took this position I worked in the county prosecutor's office and saw them come through the office every day, day after day, and thereafter we were able to call some of the criminal statistics and use those.

I also submit to you that for these meetings and others the rural poor of America, their legal lot or their connections with the law leave them in much worse position than their urban cousins, because there has been no legal aid whatsoever in the rural communities. We find that many of our families have been—the family structures have been getting mixed up for years. I have one client who has three sets of families and there have never been any divorces, so people come in and say that they don't have any morals. I say, "What do you mean, don't have any morals? They didn't have money to get a divorce." These are some of the things that we find.

For years and years and years their problems have been piling up and there has been simply no help, so that the rural poor, actually because they have had no help at all, are in worse position than their urban cousins.

Another reason they are in worse position is that they are scattered. Because there is no communication between them, they aren't able to share their experiences. We have people down in Athalia that probably aren't even aware of welfare. In fact, I would wager I could find people that aren't aware of welfare. I also know in some of the large cities, in some of the slum areas, at least one or two persons in a neighborhood will become extremely well versed in the legal aspects of welfare. Some of these other things, the barroom lawyer, so to speak, in an area where they have had a lot of experience with problems of the poor, someone will usually develop. While he isn't always right, at least he is of some help. The rural poor don't have that communication; they don't have that same opportunity to combine their problems or for someone in their own community to become expert enough to help them along in their problems, so that in this way they are also in worse position because they don't have that working together, so to speak.

Another reason they are in a worse position— One of our primary objectives is community legal education. Of course we have heard a lot about education this morning, and one of our—in fact, my first goal, my primary goal is that of community legal education, and yet I am having a difficult time pulling the people together. It is like the old story with the two-by-four and a donkey; you have to get their attention first.

In a rural community it is pretty hard to get a large enough group to make it practical to take my time to talk to them. I have had some success with community aids through the community action organizations—going door to door and having these people come together. I have had some success circuit riding within my own county where I get to a few of the people that way. I find that these people have not during their lifetime had an opportunity to talk to a lawyer. We find that most of the affluent members of society number among their friends probably at least one attorney. I would wager that each of you on this distinguished Commission knows at least one attorney personally and, of course, every time I go to a social function someone comes up to me, taps me on the shoulder, such and such happened to me, what do you think about that? Well, of course, it is like the doctors, everyone is trying to get some advice. They don't ask for representation, but they will at least find out whether or not they have a legal problem. They will find that much out, because, of course, most people are proud, they don't like to go to a lawyer if they don't even have a legal problem. As a result they stay away, but the affluent members of our society are fortunate enough that in their social intercourse they will come across a lawyer and they will ask him about their problems.

By putting a lawyer with the rural poor I hope to make myself available and I do make myself available as much as possible and in any group that we can possibly get together, so that if nothing else, they have the opportunity to sit down and talk to a lawyer. Now this is a first experience for most of them, and I feel that this has been official, because every time you sit down with someone they have things that are bothering them. Some of them aren't legal problems, but many of them are.

Another reason I say that their condition is worse is that in the rural community, as those of you who are from rural areas know, government is less complicated. For instance, in Tuscarawas County there is no housing code of any type, and this is true of the two adjoining counties. We have no public housing in Tuscarawas County, no public housing authority, so that by the rather simple, uncomplicated type of local government that we have, this also denies some of the protection that the poor perhaps get in the urban areas. In the absence of any housing code, it is very difficult for me, from the legal standpoint, to do very much about some of the substandard housing that I know exists. So the rural poor are worse off in that way, also, because they don't have some of the built-in protections that the complicated, big city life has.

Well, now, these are the problems and this is why I submit that the Government must put more into rural legal services instead of the small amount they have. These are the problems that I have seen and I have experienced. You will probably want to know what we are doing about it and what I feel we are doing about it.

First, in our contacts with clients. I have been operating for 4 months, and during that 4-month period we have handled 300 cases. These 300 cases have covered the complete spectrum of possible legal problems. You will probably want to know what type of cases we have. This is always the first question I get, so I will anticipate it and tell you that we have a little over 50 percent domestic or family problems. This is a little bit higher than we expect to have at a later time and, of course, those of you who follow this will recall that the judiciary program in Wisconsin came under some criticism because they were handling such a large percentage of family problems.

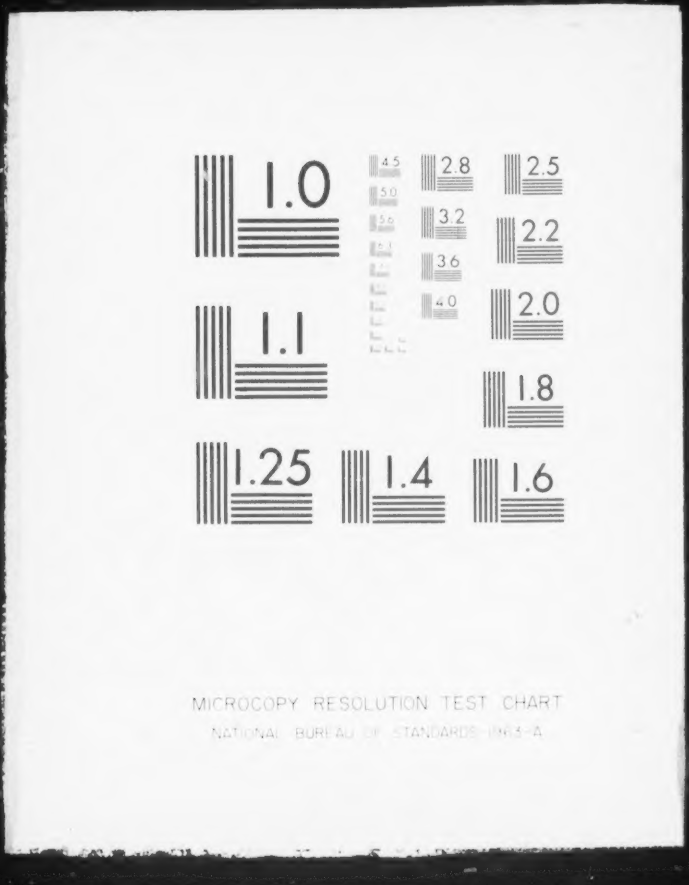
Let me tell you why we are handling about 50 percent domestic cases. First of all, a domestic problem is very easy for the prospective client to recognize. A person might not realize that he has an economic problem or that he has a housing problem that a lawyer can do something about, but if daddy knocks mommy across the nose she knows she has a legal problem and she is going to have sense enough to go to a lawyer. So this is probably the easiest legal problem and the first legal problem that these people find.

Another reason that we have a rather high percentage, at least in the rural area and all rural areas will experience this same problem, is that there has been no way for these people to get their family problems straightened out before. As a result, I have one lady, in fact, one of the first clients I had, who had come into the office. She had been waiting awhile; in fact, she sat down and rapped her fists on the table and said, "I have been waiting for 14 years; now I want a divorce." A divorce will wait. They might go on having other families, but the divorce can wait. It is not like other legal problems that reach a crisis and there is a determination one way or the other and then it is all over. A domestic problem will wait and, of course, there will always be a few more domestic problems among the poor than among any other part of society, except probably the very highest or the richest of our society. This is because when there is a lack of money, it also makes for

2 OF 5

ED

054 875


1.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS 1963-A

very difficult and strained relations. So, approximately 50 percent of our cases and in the course of business, which has surprised me, has been some type of domestic problem.

We have been running at least 20 percent economic problems, where we hope we will be able to have more and more cases because this is where we can straighten out some of their economic problems. We are giving day-to-day legal services to these people who are not able to afford a lawyer.

Incidentally, I might mention that our standard of eligibility is simply whether or not they can afford a lawyer. We have certain monetary income ratios, but the real test that we use is whether or not they are able to afford a lawyer. If they aren't able to afford a lawyer and they need our services, then they are eligible to be served by us.

One of the main things that we are doing in our day-to-day representation—we can't solve all their problems, we can't make them whole again—but we are giving them some help. We are getting rid of some of their mistrust of the law and of the lawyers. One of the biggest problems I have with my clients is that they don't trust me. They figure that I am going to get to them; that sooner or later I am going to nick them for a charge, or sooner or later I am going to find some way to either charge them or double-cross them.

We talked earlier about the power structure. This is one of our primary services in legal services, to, if necessary, attack the power structure. Some of the first cases that I handled were against the Social Security Administration and various other governmental agencies. Of course, there is a very strong need here, because one of the first cases I had in social security was where they denied benefits. Why, after they took the benefits away, actually, how in the world were these people ever going to be able to afford a lawyer to try to get them back?

In some of these areas we have been fighting this power structure, so to speak, and we are represented, but it is going to take a while, I can see, to win their confidence, because lawyers have been a part of this power structure. Lawyers have made it possible for the various agencies to oppress the poor, so that they are suspicious of lawyers and we have a job to win them over, so to speak, that we are sincerely trying to help. I think that by doing this we will give them some hope. We will give them incentive to get back up again. I wonder how often someone has to get knocked down before they start trying to get up again and, of course, the law has been doing this to the poor for years. Every time they start getting up they get knocked down again. Of course, I can't express it nearly as well as Mr. Ted Voorhees did in the American Bar Association Journal. I recommend it to you; it was the January 1967 issue. Mr. Ted Voorhees, who is president of the National Legal Aid and Defenders Association, wrote an excellent article on the impact of legal service on the poor, what actual impact is being made. And he made a very able argument in favor of what I just mentioned, that poverty is not only a physical being but also part of their state of mind.

This is probably one of the most effective things that we do in our day-to-day services, because over the years down through the centuries going clear back to English law, over the years the laws have piled up against the poor, so to speak. The poor haven't had lawyers taking cases to the Supreme Court. The poor haven't had effective and strong lobbyists in the State legislatures and in our national Congress. So the law through the centuries has piled up against them, and most of these people who come to me—there is very little I can do for them except give them hope.

From time to time we are actually able to bring them out through their legal problem, giving advice, going to court, fighting with social security. There are areas where, by and large, the law is so stacked against them that we have to start reversing the trend.

Here, again, this is why legal services is so important. The 80,000 people in Tuscarawas County are receiving the benefit of over 1,000 lawyers throughout the United States working through OEO, working on problems of the poor. I have at my command for the benefit of the people in our county the sum total of the efforts of these lawyers working throughout the country.

Representing the poor isn't easy. The poor have very difficult problems, legal problems. The poor have legal problems that haven't been studied by lawyers, because there was never much money in representing someone on a welfare case. If you would go through the law books in Ohio under welfare law, I doubt if you could find over 10 cases in that entire section. There is a whole chapter on welfare law, but you probably will find only 10 cases because lawyers haven't litigated them. I will be very quick to admit when I started this program I knew very little of some of the technical areas of welfare. In our State we have a welfare book that's at least that thick (indicating). I was never so amazed in my life when I had a conference with a young lady, a case worker, and she brought her manual. I said, "Do you have to work out of that thing?" She said, yes, that that is their bible and they work out of that. These are some of the areas that the poor have been denied legal help because a lot of the lawyers, even though they would like to help these people, didn't have the time or didn't have the inclination to try to work their way through these various technical areas of the law.

As I say, our first objective and our main objective is community legal education. I am utilizing our county agricultural extension agent. She has 26 groups throughout the county, and these groups are bringing the poor people together as best they can. If they can't bring them together, as she told me, with a thousand women talking throughout the county, the word will at least be spread around that way so that we are trying to reach the spreadout, the poor who are spread out throughout our county.

This project is engendering respect for the law, and this is extremely important. Of course, legal services, to my way of thinking, is doing so much for the poor and this is why I came down from Ohio to tell you about it. It is doing so much for the poor that it is hard to do any particular thing that is the most important, but by engendering respect for the law I think this is probably one of the most significant impacts that we are making. As I say, virtually every contact the poor has had with the law, they have been slapped down, either because the law is stacked against them or because they didn't have counsel, or they didn't have adequate counsel to represent them. As a result, they are beginning to think that there is no law for the poor, and sometimes they are right.

In fact, one of the distinguished writers said that there is no poverty law; it is being written right now. This is why we need more legal services throughout the country to see that this poverty law is written, and it is written and applied to the poor.

I have talked longer than I anticipated, so I will close. But the final thing we are doing in our county is coordinating the efforts of some of the various agencies in the county. We have had very good response and very good cooperation from the welfare departments, the other parts of the so-called power structure in our county.

Of course, the power structure in Tuscarawas County isn't like the power structure in the big city, but we have our power structure and they have been extremely cooperative. They don't want me on their back, so they have been cooperative. I find that this is important, too, because a lawyer by his training and his education works with these various agencies. From time to time I have worked with the welfare department on problems. I have worked with the mental health association. We have worked with all the various agencies, the Federal agencies. We have worked with all of these agencies, so I know what each of these particular agencies do. The welfare agency doesn't particularly know what some of the other departments are doing, and vice versa, so this was part of the problem, too.

The poor—before, when they had a problem they would go to one of the agencies. If that didn't happen to be the right agency they were liable to land in 10 different agencies before they found where they were supposed to be. Of course this was discouraging; a lot of them gave up before they got where they were going. They felt there, again, that they were getting the traditional run-around, that they were passing the buck. They weren't necessarily passing the buck; a lot of them didn't know. But with our legal services project, a lot of the people who come in don't have a legal problem. They think they do, but they don't. Well, with my legal training I am able to direct them to someone who can help them with their problem and they don't get the feeling they are being shuttled from place to place. By educating these people, by working, by the combined efforts of these attorneys throughout the country, we feel that we are making a significant dent in the attitude of the rural poor toward the law.

I see [my talk] was listed under Immigration into the Large Cities. Of course, the only thing I would say in that behalf is if we do a good job in the rural areas, they won't be going into the cities. But in our small county we don't have any cities large enough for the poor to go into. In fact, we find that they go from our cities, which are, as I say, rather nice as a rule, they go into the country, into the strip mine areas, because it is less expensive for them to live. Then they go from there to the larger cities like Cleveland, which is about 50 miles north of there, so we don't have that problem in Tuscarawas County.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Thomas. I like your presentation. You are dealing with human beings, individuals who may have been slapped down, and I think these results not only for them but for the respect of the law and the sort of alleviation of suffering which comes from shuttling between agencies, this is fine.

Mr. King.

Mr. King: In previous hearings there was sort of a threaded thought that with all of us our money doesn't go around, but with the poor and uninformed the problem of sales contracts in the area of appliances, pickup trucks, and cars, there was an unusual strain on limited finances. I don't know if this comes under an adult education program, but is there anything you could advise us on that?

Mr. Thomas: Yes, very much so. Studies have shown, as you mentioned, that the poor pay more for everything that they buy. As soon as a merchant sees someone come in who doesn't have credit he puts $100 or $200 on top and jacks the interest rate up to the maximum. Of course, in Ohio, and I wouldn't be exact, but in Ohio on a retail installment purchase I think the interest can go legally as high as 36 to 42 percent, so by going to the maximum legal rate and adding a couple hundred dollars on the top, the poor do pay more for everything they buy.

This is very definitely part of our project, to, first of all, change some of the laws, change some of the lending laws which fall in line with the Farmers Union people who were here, change some of the lending laws and also educate these people so that they will bring the contract to us. I know that there are merchants who do this; I know which ones are doing it in town, who are selling high risk sales and adding $100. Then they know that if 1 out of 10 doesn't pay, they have made up for it on the others. This happens day after day, and it is legal. That is the real shame, that it is legal. So we have to educate the people and also try to change the laws. This is definitely one of our primary objectives.

Mr. King: The education will probably come before the changing of the law.

Mr. Thomas: I am certain it will, even though through the bar association we have a lobby for the poor and there are six legal services in Ohio. We now have a lobby of sorts.

Mr. Gay: These high prices and usury rates——

Mr. Thomas (interrupting): They aren't usury; they are legal.

Mr. Gay: Governor Rhodes was right when he said profit is not a dirty word in Ohio?

Mr. Thomas: I wouldn't argue with that. I would say something else. I had a note and didn't say it. Jobs are probably as plentiful in Tuscarawas County as they have ever been, but we have to have people who are able to take those jobs. I wish I had a nickel for every fellow who has been in my office already and he is working—has a fairly large family, and he is working for less than I know it could possibly take to subsist. I ask him "Why don't you get a job in the plants? The plants are hiring." He said, "I don't have a high school education." We get others who come in the office, and maybe they are 23 years old and they are $10,000 in debt, and it happens, and then every time they get a job their wages are attached.

Ohio has very strict garnishment and wage attachment laws, so credit is easy to get. They let these young kids get into hock up to $10,000 and then take a chance on attaching their wages in order to get the money back. As a result it is a vicious cycle with these people. They become what I call unemployable, because no industry wants to take on a man who is so hopelessly in debt he is going to have his wages attached, because wage attachments are expensive for industry.

Mr. BONNEN: Let me ask one clarifying question as a nonlawyer. I get the impression, you say the law over the centuries has piled up against the poor. By that do you mean that when a lawyer goes to the lawbooks to see what the law says, that legal precedent has been built up on the other side?

Mr. THOMAS: That's very true, yes. There are two types of law. When I say "law" I am speaking of both the statutory law, the laws passed by various State legislatures and Congress, and then there are also the case laws. That is the law made by the judges. In both instances, by and large, the poor or the low income people —for instance, in landlord and tenant law, the landlord has very fast eviction procedures, and yet the tenant has very little.

There are some States—New York now has a rent strike statute where the money is paid into the court for repairs. There are some other things developing now, but down through the years the landlord had the best of it. Down through the years the seller has had the best of it, as opposed to the buyer. If someone bought a piece of merchandise and couldn't pay for it, then they certainly couldn't hire a lawyer to handle the case in court.

Mr. BONNEN: Would you elaborate just a moment? You referred to the county extension agent being of some use and aid in this in Tuscarawas County. What is the county extension service?

Mr. THOMAS: Ohio State University has a county extension agent who works in Tuscarawas County.

Mr. BONNEN: This is the home demonstration agent rather than the farm agent?

Mr. THOMAS: Yes. She is not the farm agent. She works with the women.

Mr. BONNEN: What is she doing?

Mr. THOMAS: She is getting her groups together. I go to her group, and then they bring in as many people as they can from the surrounding areas. Of course, these are scattered throughout the county, but the main thing—I am not very encouraged by the prospect of getting the real low income people to these meetings; it is just almost impossible. It is like a minister standing up in church, and the people he is talking to aren't the people he wants to talk to. This is the feeling I get every place I go. So I take the next best thing and I tell the people, just like Mrs. Weaver said, our county agent said, if we get a thousand women talking about this thing throughout the county we will have it pretty well covered.

Mr. BONNEN: Is this her own initiative?

Mr. THOMAS: She came to me, because frankly I had not even thought of it; she came to me because she had heard of our project, and because we are rather unique. We have had quite a bit of publicity.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. LAUREL: I am very much interested in what you had to say. I may well be the only lawyer here on the panel, and naturally I am very much interested in what you had to say.

We found in our southwestern hearing, for example, that maybe the bar association in the State, or even the local bar associations, have not taken any interest or have not exercised the proper leadership to see that the poor be given an even break insofar as providing

62

legal aid and assistance. It is much like the problem of the doctors, of course, being against Medicare, for example, because it smacks too much of socialism. You understand the problem there?

Mr. THOMAS: I certainly do and, of course, I am very fortunate because the bar association in our county had been trying to get some type of legal service for the poor for at least 3 years, trying very hard, but the funds just weren't available.

As you know, the ABA, the various State bar associations, have backed us very strongly. I think one of the big differences between this and Medicare—we aren't taking money away from the lawyers. We are handling cases where they can't afford to hire a lawyer, and the lawyers in our county are realizing this, that this is probably the greatest thing financially for them that's ever happened. They don't have to take the time finding some excuse or explaining to these people why they can't represent them. I know I did it. Every lawyer does it. You simply don't have time if you are going to get ahead in this competitive world. You have to worry about making a living, and just by not having to take the time— And then every once in awhile you take on one of these cases and you aren't skilled in that case, so you spend three times as much time on that case as you do the profitable cases.

We also have a lawyer's referral connected with it, which has been very beneficial.

Mr. LAUREL: That is where some abuses can come about and that is probably where the bar association has been skeptical about the situation. For example, when they don't come under the criteria to be used on legal assistance, who is to refer and to whom, and so on?

Mr. THOMAS: They are referred through our office on a rotating basis. Of course, I have a girl that everyone trusts, and we are fortunate that——

Mr. LAUREL (interrupting): Well, it is working all right. I know that ours is.

Mr. THOMAS: Of course, the first time we get a real fat case, then everyone is going to wonder how it happened to get where it did. But they have to have confidence in me; and this I have built among the lawyers, and this is an important thing.

Mr. LAUREL: Another aspect I want to talk to you about is this. Insofar as this legal assistance, it is unfortunate, indeed, of course, that the unhappy aspects of it have been actually emphasized or have been unduly amplified. For example, they are beginning to think in terms of saying the poor have been waiting for 20, 30 years to get somebody to handle their divorce cases and using legal assistance as a divorce mill, and so on, like you have already explained. But what they fail to understand is that the very deep-seated domestic relations problems and problems with reference to assistance of different kinds, advice with reference to many problems to them loom large and to a lawyer, of course, who is trained, you know, to advise them on these things, it is really not too difficult.

The other aspect is this, that there is a deep-seated mistrust—that is, among the poor—a deep-seated lack of confidence towards lawyers. I know you understand this.

Mr. THOMAS: Oh, certainly.

Mr. LAUREL: That is the reason that through the years they have

63

been battered around so much. And when they don't have any money, of course, they look up to a lawyer; and the lawyer doesn't see any prospect for a fee, and says, "Well, there is nothing I can do for you." I know that there is an old Spanish saying that says the worst thing that they can actually wish on their worst enemy, for example, is that they get involved among lawyers. These are the things, of course, that we have to take care of and tear down. These are things that we have to work with. Who are we to say that this deep-seated mistrust of the lawyers is not well founded, at least up to this point. We have to start thinking in terms of regaining the faith and confidence of a profession that stands among the highest in lending service to a community and to the people.

Mr. Thomas: I think you touched upon something, too, and that is that as a lawyer you understand the broad concept of what a lawyer does, and this is what we are trying to do with our clients, to be a lawyer in the broadest sense. As you know, a lawyer with a private client will advise him in a lot of areas in his life and will even go to other agencies or go to court, if necessary, to change the laws for him. This is the type of aggressive representation that the poor need, and we are trying to give it to them.

Mr. Laurel: I want to congratulate you; you are doing your share for uplifting our profession.

Mr. Thomas: Thank you.

The Chairman: Mr. Ford.

Mr. Ford: Mr. Thomas, what you have said has been very informative, and I think the kind of work you are doing is very great and necessary. One of the questions that came to my mind is: What is the availability of lawyers to provide this kind of service in rural areas—who are willing to go out?

Mr. Thomas: I think there are enough "do-good" lawyers that actually want to do some good for people, who want to have a good feeling about their professional life; I think there are enough of them. Through OEO they are recruiting more lawyers, and through OEO the big thing is that they have made money available. It is fine to be a "do-gooder," but I have four children and one coming at home, and I have to do more than be a "do-gooder." OEO is making money available, and they are also recruiting lawyers. There is a fellowship program through the University of Pennsylvania this fall where they are recruiting 150 lawyers to work on the problems of the poor.

Mr. Ford: How many of these are going to rural areas?

Mr. Thomas: That's why I am here. As I say, I have been to two national conferences; and at those national conferences I have tried to find someone who is in a similar position as myself, and I have not found them. They have judiciary in Wisconsin, which is an experimental-type project. I have a county—Tuscarawas County. There are some other rurals, but most of them are on Indian reservations or unique situations such as that. So as far as putting this money into the rural poor— When President Johnson emphasized that there shall be a lawyer in every slum area—of course, with limited funds there just wasn't any left over for the rural areas. That is why I am here to say that the rural poor need it worse than they do in the big cities. Because they aren't rioting and because they aren't all in one big blob, the money isn't there.

Mr. **Ford**: Do you think that the solution to the problem is simply to make funds available in the rural areas and that you would be able to get lawyers in?

Mr. **Thomas**: I am confident that the lawyers will be available, yes.

Mr. **Ford**: Thank you.

Mr. **Gibson**: Along this same line, I wonder whether the kind of confidence and the indications of the desire to do something on the part of the lawyers whom you referred to would also be the case in Mississippi and Alabama and those counties we have been hearing about this morning? I personally do not think so.

Mr. **Thomas**: You mean among the lawyers there?

Mr. **Gibson**: That's right, these bar associations.

Mr. **Thomas**: That would be a real problem and, of course, not only because of the local attitude, which I would have no way of knowing, but what perhaps would be the local attitude. I couldn't go in, for instance, to a community or into an area and be effective, because my effectiveness at home is because I know the various people in a county. The poor know that I have been there for 6 years and that I was their assistant prosecutor. They know these things, so there is an association with me. If I went into an area where the bar association was a little bit skeptical, they could give me fits. If a legal service tries to work where the bar association is against him, they can just give him fits. So this would be a real problem, and this is up to the bar associations to work out; and they have been. I would say that they are accepting it more and more as they realize it is not taking business away from them but it is, in fact, making their profession not only more respectable—they are not only getting more respect for the bar, but it is also more economical, better economics for them.

Mr. **Gibson**: When you make that kind of a statement, which is a very positive thing and one which we all want to encourage—if you see this from the perspective you have as being applicable to these areas of Mississippi and Alabama, and so forth, where racial hostility is so great and where the bar associations are part of the establishment, I think it is very important that we not blanket and hide that set of conditions.

Mr. **Thomas**: I think they will, if only for selfish motives. If for none other than selfish motives, to make more money, I think they will with the ABA sponsoring. When we were at the Washington conference Justice Brennan spoke to us and he was very much in favor of this. With the power structure of the bar behind us, and if for no other reason than selfish economic motives, I think they will come behind us.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. Thomas. You have brought us a positive approach to some of the problems which are of concern to the people about whom we are speaking.

This afternoon I think you may be interested in witnesses to come, Mrs. Juanita Joyner of Memphis, Tenn.; William R. McCandless, Federal cochairman of the Ozarks Regional Commission from Washington; Peter Stern, TVA director of regional studies from Knoxville; Joseph V. Tuma, executive director of the Upper Peninsula Committee for Area Progress, Escanaba, Mich.; Oliver Terriberry, executive director, Georgia Mountains Planning and Development

Commission of Gainesville, Ga.; Robert Miles, Batesville, Miss., president of Panola Co-Op; William W. Campbell, chairman of the board, First National Bank of Eastern Arkansas, Forrest City, Ark.; George McLean, Tupelo, Miss., Community Development Foundation; A. J. McKnight, Southern Consumers Cooperative, Lafayette, La.; Edward Angus, assistant professor of political science at Memphis State University.

You will be glad to know there is a cafeteria on the seventh floor of this building, and also in the basement.

We will stand adjourned until 1:30 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m., of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I request the hearing come to order, please.

We had a very good and, I believe, profitable morning. We wish to express our appreciation to all those witnesses who came and who took part in the proceedings, and we will proceed now with our next witness.

It is our practice, as you know, to give the witness, say, approximately 15 minutes or thereabouts, and there is time for questions, and we must adhere quite closely to our time schedule.

Our first witness this afternoon is Mrs. Juanita Joyner.

Mrs. Joyner, if you wouldn't mind coming, please, to sit up here. Mrs. Joyner is from Memphis, Tenn., and I think you will be interested in knowing that she is one of the persons who read of the Commission in the newspaper and wrote to express the desire to come to talk with us.

Now, Mrs. Joyner, all we are trying to do—we have been asked by President Johnson to try to get some good ideas about how to help people who are having difficulties, particularly difficulties that relate to the economic situation, relating to money, education of their children, housing, all of this kind of thing. So, Mrs. Joyner, we'd be glad to have you tell us first of all your name and where you live, how many children you have, and then anything more that you would like to. You have several children, don't you?

Mrs. JOYNER: Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: How many?

Mrs. JOYNER: Three.

The CHAIRMAN: Where do you live in Memphis?

Mrs. JOYNER: I live at 776 Apartment G in Memphis.

The CHAIRMAN: About how far is that from where we are now?

Mrs. JOYNER: Oh, 4 miles, maybe 5. I have lived there for the past 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN: Don't be afraid of those things. They won't bite. Now just go ahead.

STATEMENT OF JUANITA JOYNER

Mrs. JOYNER: I have lived there in the apartments for 3 years. I get aid for my children, which is $120 a month from ADC, which is not nearly enough, but I mean that's all I have. So I wanted to get a job. In order to get a job that pays enough money to take care of a family as large as mine, I enrolled in this educational school taking a course in upholstery. I went for 18 weeks. After we finished the course they gave us certificates, upholstery certificates. At first some of them were hired, and then later on the other part of us were hired. I worked for a particular firm in the city for about 2½ weeks, and I was laid off for lack of work. Then I didn't have a job, and I wasn't on ADC, and I wasn't going to school. I didn't have anything.

About, oh, I guess about a couple of months later they accepted my application to put me back on ADC. About a month after that they did call me from this particular firm that I was working for, and they asked me did I want to come back to work. I mean, they couldn't guarantee me anything but they would let me work as long as the work lasted, which would probably be maybe 2 or 3 weeks, and then I would be laid off again.

In the meantime, if I worked, I would be off of welfare and I would have to go through the same thing again. I mean, I would be off of welfare and I would be out of a job. So then I had to choose between the job that I would have maybe for a while or staying on welfare. So I told them that I couldn't take the job under those circumstances because I had three children I had to take care of. I was their sole support and I couldn't take the job under those conditions. They told me they needed somebody right then, if I couldn't take the job they would hire somebody else. I mean, you know, right then because they had to have somebody, so I guess they hired somebody.

Since then I have gone from place to place looking for work and I haven't been able to find anything. Although I probably could find some work, maybe working in private homes, but private homes just doesn't pay enough to take care of a family as big as mine. I am still looking for maybe a job in an upholstery shop or a factory where it will be enough to take care of a family as large as mine. That's it.

The CHAIRMAN: Did you take one training course? Was there another training course, or just the one?

Mrs. JOYNER: I just took the one, upholstering. And I do have a certificate for upholstery, but I just haven't been able to find anything. I mean, I haven't been able to find anything, period. They either tell me that they will let me fill out an application, but they aren't hiring, period. So you know, I just have to wait. I've got applications all over the city in practically every upholstery shop and factory, but they tell me that if they need me they'll call me, and that's that.

A lot of places you don't even get to the personnel office. They turn you around at the gate. Out to R.C., I have been trying to get on out there ever since I have been there, and I haven't been able to get to the personnel office.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there some furniture factories in Memphis that normally hire persons for this work?

Mrs. JOYNER: There are lots of furniture factories here, also lots of upholstery shops here which I would just love to work at, but they just don't give me a chance to.

The CHAIRMAN: How old is your youngest child?

Mrs. JOYNER: Six.

The CHAIRMAN: So that child is in school?

Mrs. JOYNER: Yes, sir, he is in school all day now.

The CHAIRMAN: And the older children are going to school regularly?

Mrs. JOYNER: Yes, sir. My son is 13 and I have a daughter 12, and they are in school. What I need now is a job, period. Because with them being in school I am home all day and I know that if I got a job it would pay much more than $120 a month and would help me out, you know, much more than sitting at home waiting on an ADC check once a month. I mean, I could take care of my family much better if I had a job, and I wouldn't be having to accept this $120 from welfare.

The CHAIRMAN: May I ask you how much schooling you yourself have?

Mrs. JOYNER: I just finished the seventh grade.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ford, please.

Mr. FORD: Has this been a fairly general condition for people who have gone through this same training program that you have in upholstery, or are most of them able to get work?

Mrs. JOYNER: The girls I went to school with, most of them are working.

Mr. FORD: In upholstery work?

Mrs. JOYNER: Well, factories, upholstery. Some of them are working in clothing stores, you know, but most of them—I haven't been keeping in contact with them because we graduated in July—but the last I have heard of some of them, they were working.

Mr. FORD: Do you know if these factories are taking on people? What I am trying to find out is whether you just happen to be one peculiar case or whether this is generally the situation, that those who take the training are unable to get work.

Mrs. JOYNER: I don't know, but I know that I haven't been able to get work. I don't know whether they have been successful in getting a job and keeping it because I have been wrapped up in my problems until I really haven't paid any attention.

Mr. FORD: Has the State employment service made any effort to get work for you or have you——

Mrs. JOYNER (interrupting): I usually contact them from time to time. There is a lady I contact, Mrs. Bryant, I think. Anyway, we are supposed to check with her from time to time, those of us who graduated from this school, and each time I check with her she says that she doesn't have anything. That's all I can do, other than go to each upholstery shop or factory and apply for a job, and I have done that. They say, "If we need you, we'll call you." And they never do.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gay.

Mr. GAY: Mrs. Joyner, until just recently I owned a home here in Tennessee, in Nashville. Mrs. Gay and I had occasion to have to get some upholstering done, a sofa and two chairs. We waited approximately 90 days to get this done, and the reason was they said they just couldn't get around to us, they didn't have enough—they were snowed under. They didn't have enough labor. They couldn't get help. I wonder, Mrs. Joyner, if you know the real reason perhaps that we couldn't get that upholstery work done or you can't get a job, one or the other? Is there something that you haven't told us? Are they holding back? Do they not consider you properly trained, or is it because you are a Negro, or just what do you think is happening? Your testimony and my experience just clash head on. It took us 90 days to get the work done.

68

Mrs. JOYNER: I wish I knew why, but I don't. I have tried. I have gone as far as running an ad in the paper. A couple of men called me from upholstery shops. Mr. Bailey, I worked for him 2 days. Then he said that he just couldn't keep that many people, that he didn't really need but three, and when I got there I was the fourth one, and he said he didn't need but three.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. BONNEN: How long were you off after you had gone to work and then gone off ADC and then lost your employment? How long were you—was it before you were back on ADC?

Mrs. JOYNER: About 2 months.

Mr. BONNEN: Why does it take that long?

Mrs. JOYNER: I would imagine they have some legal work to do. I really don't know, because, I mean, I couldn't go and ask them why, you know. I am just waiting.

Mr. BONNEN: What did you have to do to get back on the ADC rolls?

Mrs. JOYNER: What I did was contact my caseworker that I had before, because she works in the neighborhood and I see her from time to time. So I told her that I was out of work and so she told me to come to the office on Monday. It hadn't been, I think she said, too long that they would have transferred my case from her back to the old file, so she still had my file with her, and to come down there and talk with her, which I did. Anyway, she said that they had to go to Nashville, and whatever it had to do it took that long; it takes some time. It really takes time to get back on once you are off. Now, they can just call up there and give the word that you are working, and you are off for maybe a week before your check is due. You know, they can cancel it, but it takes longer than that to get back on.

Mr. BONNEN: Have you always worked with the same caseworker, reporting to the same caseworker?

Mrs. JOYNER: She has worked with me since I moved into these apartments, and that has been about 3 years.

Mr. BONNEN: How would you describe your relationship with the caseworker? How often do you see her? I take it, it is a woman.

Mrs. JOYNER: Well, to see her, you know, to maybe come to my house, about once very 3 months or so. But I see her in the neighborhood quite often.

Mr. BONNEN: But she is easily accessible if you want to get to her?

Mrs. JOYNER: Yes, sir, she has a lot of folks around there in my neighborhood that she works with. I see her maybe once or twice a week, you know, around there.

Mr. BONNEN: Other than the slowness with which this system seems to work, what problems do you personally feel exist here?

Mrs. JOYNER: What do you mean?

Mr. BONNEN: In our ADC program, you have described that it took quite a while to get back on the rolls after you were off. Are there any other problems that you have encountered in being on ADC as a recipient? Are there other problems?

Mrs. JOYNER: Oh, no. I mean, I don't have anything against ADC. My problem now is trying to get a job, because I really want to be off ADC. I don't even want it. I mean, I would rather have a job any day where I could go to work and draw a salary rather than have to sit and accept ADC once a month. I could live a little bit more comfortably if I had a job. Now, ADC is fine when you can't do any better, but I want to do better. I think I need to because I have three children going to school, and I need something that's coming in maybe at least once a week where I would be able to make ends meet a little better.

Mrs. Jackson: How long have you depended on ADC?

Mrs. Joyner: I have been on ADC for quite some time, too long to remember, about 10 years off and on.

Mrs. Jackson: And you have always lived in Memphis?

Mrs. Joyner: No. I moved up here from Mississippi.

The Chairman: Mr. Davis.

Mr. Neil Davis: I wanted to ask you if you were born in Memphis. Were you born on a farm or in a small town?

Mrs. Joyner: Yes, sir. I was born out from Mississippi.

Mr. Neil Davis: And you came to Memphis for what reason?

Mrs. Joyner: Well, I was young and I just thought that Memphis was something different. As a matter of fact, my father died when I was rather young and my mother had a bunch of children. I was the one with the big man, and I just left home. Finally I found a job and I went to work, I mean doing private home work.

Mr. Neil Davis: How old were you when you married, if you don't mind me asking?

Mrs. Joyner: Well, I have never been married. That is one of the reasons why I think a job is important. I don't want my children to have to do a lot of things that I have done and that I'm not very proud of, you know.

Mr. Neil Davis: When you came to Memphis, did you get employment? Have you had jobs over the years?

Mrs. Joyner: Well, I have had jobs working in private homes, which I wasn't very happy with. I mean, I did it, you know, because I knew that I had to do something, and that's why I did it. But as of now, my children are getting larger, they are wanting more, and they expect me to give them more, which I can understand, and I want to give them more; but I know I won't be able to do it with just getting ADC. I won't be able to do it. And it is going to create more problems, because children, in this day and life, expect more out of life, maybe, than they did when I was that age; and if we don't give it to them, they are going to try to get it elsewhere.

I feel that I need to do much more for them than my mother was able to do for me, and I figure if I had a chance I would be able to do it.

My son right now, he is going to school and he can get free lunches. But he don't want them because he feels that his playmates are going to say that he has to accept free lunches, and I can understand it, but I can't make him, you know. I tell him, "You get free lunches. Eat them, or don't eat all day." He won't go in there and get a free lunch because he is thinking about what his little buddies may say. Children are like that. And I am going to have to make an extra effort, like getting a job and going to work and getting a lot of the things that maybe I didn't have when I was that age.

Mr. Neil Davis: Thank you.

The Chairman: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gibson: Mrs. Joyner, how did you get into the training program? Who sponsored it?

Mrs. Joyner: Who sponsored it?

Mr. Gibson: How did you go about it and so forth?

Mrs. Joyner: I read about it in the paper.

Mr. Gibson: Who did sponsor it? Who ran the program?

Mrs. Joyner: MDTA program.

Mr. Gibson: When you decided to go into the program, did you talk it over with your caseworker? Just sort of give us an idea how you got into it.

Mrs. Joyner: I am trying to think back. At first she came to me and was telling me about it, that it was an upholstery school somewhere in the city and she thought I should go. So after me trying to find out where it was, because she didn't know too much about it and I hadn't heard anything about it, so later on I read about it in the paper. Well, then I went down to the employment office and talked with a Mr. Chester, who was very nice, and he told me that I had to, you know, be put on a list and wait until it came my turn to be placed. In the meantime, this welfare, they had a school set up which I think was a home nursing attendant school that they had. So they told me that I should enroll to go to that particular school, so I did. I went to school there for 4½ months, but when I finished it, it didn't qualify me for anything more than what I was already doing, to be a housemaid or maybe a cook. That's something I don't like and I know I wouldn't enjoy it too much, so I still wanted to—I was trying to get into upholstery school because that's what I really thought that I was doing in the beginning.

Finally I went back out there and talked with him and he said he couldn't put me in upholstery school because I had gone to school within that year, and the schools were financed with Government funds, so I couldn't go. But after I talked so much, I guess he got tired of me talking so he placed me. So finally he called me and told me to report down to the upholstery school and I did, and I had to go about a month before they started giving me a check for going. They started paying me for going, which was in March and I graduated in July. That's when I received my certificate.

Mr. Gibson: How many people went through that course with you?

Mrs. Joyner: About 18 of us actually graduated. When we started it was about 20. I think two dropped out.

Mr. Gibson: How was that composition with regard to white and Negroes? Was it mixed white and Negro?

Mrs. Joyner: We had two white guys that was very nice, and they went for a while. But they were men, and I think that one thing you've got to be is fast with your fingers. They just sort of got sick, you know, and they just dropped out on their own. But I think if anybody wanted to go they can go if they want to.

Mr. Gibson: But the 18 who graduated, were they Negro women?

Mrs. Joyner: They were all Negro women.

Mr. Gibson: Have you encountered anything that you would consider racial discrimination which has affected your ability to get a job?

Mrs. Joyner: In the schools or where?

Mr. Gibson: In the places where you applied to work and in the places where upholstering is done.

Mrs. Joyner: Well, I haven't experienced that as far as discrimination is concerned, so therefore I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Gibson: What I am concerned about, whether if in your experience—I'm interested in knowing and I think the Commission is interested in knowing whether the cause of the kind of problem which you have and which you have brought to us is in the planning, if those people instituted the course and trained a number of persons for jobs that were not available, or whether the jobs are available to some but not to others and possibly one of the reasons for this being discrimination in this particular profession.

Mrs. Joyner: It could be maybe that it is. It could be maybe that it is not. I do know that I have called several folks on the phone. I have seen advertisements in the paper and I have called several folks on the phone, and they get me to come out and talk with them. When I go out there to talk with them they'll say, "Well, you fill out an application. We'll call you if we need you." I don't know what they were thinking over the telephone, but I can say that when I got there——

Mr. Gibson (interrupting): On the phone they needed upholsterers, but when you got there they needed applicants only?

Mrs. Joyner: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gibson: With regard to the business of temporary work, you indicated that you could have gotten temporary work in at least the one instance that you told us about, but it would have meant going off of welfare, then going through a very long process of getting back on. What would be your recommendation with regard to the ADC program that would make it more helpful to people like yourself who are trying to phase into full employment which will get you off of the welfare rolls?

Mrs. Joyner: Maybe you as a representative, or maybe not you, but one of you representatives, you know, you put maybe this particular person to work. I probably would be hired maybe on the spot. I mean, I could talk until I got blue in the face and they'd probably say no, you know. Now, we need somebody to talk for us. We have something, you know, maybe to offer, but we don't get a chance. What we need is somebody maybe to help us, you know.

Mr. Gibson: You mean with regard to convincing the employers that you should be hired?

Mrs. Joyner: Because a lot of time they hire you, and they don't even give you a chance. Just for instance, just say I worked just 2½ weeks. Now I loved this job, you know, and I enjoyed working there. Now, he said that it was lack of work, that the work, you know, slowed up. Now, he could have been telling the truth. There is nothing I can do about it, but in the meantime I was laid off and my family suffered because I was laid off.

Mr. Gibson: I understand. I am just trying to get at causative things. And another thing—do you feel that it would be of any assistance to you in maybe getting located if it were possible that the welfare program could permit you the temporary work that is available, and where you are laid off through no fault of your own, at any rate, the program could be structured so that it could be flexible enough to permit you to take the work that was available and still at least maintain the minimum kind of level which ADC seeks to maintain?

Mrs. Joyner: Well, ADC doesn't work like that.

Mr. Gibson: We are well aware.

The Chairman: Let's have one more question.

Mr. Gay, please.

Mr. Gay: Mrs. Joyner, like you, I am a product of the Bible belt, and very frankly, do you see anything to the fact that you have three children and have never been married and the rejection of your application in an area where they obviously need help? Is there anything that they see when they see your application, either Miss Joyner with three children or Mrs. Joyner who hasn't got a husband or hasn't had one? Do you see any area of connection or discrimination in the Bible belt here, that we both came from, between those two factors?

Mrs. JOYNER: Well——

Mr. GAY (interrupting): I'd like your personal feeling on that.

Mrs. JOYNER: I just believe that that is a lot of it. I mean, you know, like Miss Joyner with three children and has never been married, you know, that makes all the difference, whereas if I had someone to maybe speak for me it would help.

Mr. GAY: Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Joyner, we thank you very much. It is very good of you to come, and we appreciate your words here because they will have a bearing on what we recommend.

Our next witness speaks to us on the topic, Rural Industries and Regional Development. Mr. William McCandless, Federal cochairman, Ozarks Regional Commission, Washington, D.C.

Do you have a document you wish to give to our secretary?

Mr. McCANDLESS: I have done so already, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: You may proceed, then.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM M. MC CANDLESS

Mr. McCANDLESS: I deeply appreciate the invitation extended by Governor Breathitt and the other members of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty to appear today at this public hearing. As Federal cochairman of the Ozarks Regional Commission, I can assure you that our regional commission will be keenly interested in the analyses, conclusions, and recommendations which your Commission will transmit to the President's Committee on Rural Poverty.

Under the Executive order creating your Commission, you have been charged with a task which vitally affects a substantial number of the people in the Ozarks region. Your goals and ours are the same insofar as we both are interested in improving the quality of life for those persons living in rural America.

I should first like to outline for you briefly the structure and concept of the regional commission so that you will better understand our role and our interest in your work. Since the Ozarks commission is only at the beginning of its studies and plans, I can discuss only a few things regarding your primary objectives and I shall touch on these a short time later. By explaining the organization and function of our regional commission, I think I can best bring to your attention one of the methods whereby your recommendations for the coordination and direction of programs, policies, and activities relating to the economic status and community welfare of rural people can be implemented.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 authorized the Secretary of Commerce to designate appropriate economic development regions within the United States, with the concurrence of the States in which such regions are located, if he found that there was a relationship between the areas within such regions geographically, culturally, historically, and economically, and if he further found upon consideration of certain matters that the region lagged behind the nation as a whole in economic development.

These considerations include many of the factors which this Commission is making the subject of its study: the rate of unemployment where it is substantially above the national rate; the rate of outmigration of labor, if it is substantial; and the level of housing, health, and educational facilities, if substantially below the national level. I am sure that you are finding that rural America lags behind the rest of the nation in many of these critical indices.

When such a development region has been designated by the Secretary, he is directed to invite and encourage the States in such region to establish a regional commission. The regional commissions, I firmly believe, are one of the truly new innovations in the relations between the States and the Federal Government.

It is a philosophy that makes the States coequal partners with the Federal Government. This partnership extends not only to the conduct and administration of the programs which are included in the commission but gives the States, working in almost every case through its Governor, a very meaningful and real role in decision making and the development of policy. It is based on the philosophy of helping people help themselves and moving the determination of their own destiny back towards the people themselves. It recognizes the basic fact that those closest to the problems are the most knowledgeable about the conditions and have the capacity, working with other levels of Government, to contribute to the solutions of these problems.

The regional commission is composed of a Federal cochairman appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The other members of the commission are the Governors of each State or such person as State law may designate.

The Ozarks Economic Development Region is one of five which have been designated by the Secretary of Commerce. Our region is the first to have been organized, with a meeting on September 7, 1966, of the representatives of the three States. Two other regional commissions have had a Federal cochairman appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The interests of the States with common problems, culture, and geography are represented by the State members, while the national interest in developing the economy is represented through the presence of the Federal cochairman. Neither side can dominate the other. The Federal cochairman cannot dictate policy or program even if he should be so inclined. Neither can the States employ their power to force an issue which might not give consideration to the larger national picture or be contrary to national policy. The State members of the commission elect one of their members to be State cochairman, and the commission itself has a small staff to carry out its tasks.

For the first 2 full fiscal years following its organization, the Federal Government is paying the administrative expenses of these commissions. Thereafter, not more than 50 percent of these expenses may be paid by the Federal Government, with the rest of the cost being borne by the States. The experience to date in the Appalachian

Regional Commission testifies to the wholehearted support by the States of this concept and its operation.

Among our functions, perhaps the most important is to initiate and coordinate the preparation of long-range, overall economic development programs for the region based on State investment plans prepared by the States. In addition, and of no less importance, the commission is charged with advising and assisting the Secretary of Commerce and the States in the initiation and coordination of economic development districts in order to upgrade their planning effort through reflection of the needs of people in the districts and to secure the maximum benefits from the expenditures of Federal, State, and local funds.

We are also charged with promoting increased private investment in the region and developing comprehensive and coordinated plans and programs and establishing priorities while giving due consideration to other State, Federal, and local planning in the region. In carrying out these functions, we are charged with fostering surveys and studies to provide the data which are required for the preparation of specific plans and programs. We must also review and study Federal, State, and local public and private programs and, if appropriate, recommend modification or additions which will increase their effectiveness in the region.

Thus, the regional commission becomes an effective tool for the coordination of Federal programs and the instrument whereby the maximum benefit can be obtained from all governmental efforts to improve the lot of their people.

On January 20, 1967, President Johnson in a letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House recommended the extension of the Appalachian Regional Development program and stated:

> The Act was conceived in a true spirit of partnership. That partnership has flourished. The Appalachia partnership has proved the wisdom of cooperative Federal-State relationship. I hope that the Commission's success in the past will insure its continuance in the future.

Appalachia has had the benefit of 4 years of planning and 2 years of actual operation. The new regional commissions are just getting underway, and there is every reason to believe that the same spirit of cooperation exhibited by the 12 States in Appalachia will be duplicated by all of the States in the newly formed regions. Truly, there is great hope that this new, innovative relationship will prove to be one of the important contributions to our ever-evolving governmental relations.

The performance of Appalachia and the promise of the other regional commissions prompts me to urge strongly upon you the consideration of the role of these commissions in attacking the multitude of problems which face rural America.

In the Ozarks region, which is composed of 44 counties in Missouri, 44 counties in Arkansas, and 37 counties in Oklahoma, we find that in 1960 the rural population was about 75 percent of our total regional population. This fact alone makes us keenly aware of your efforts and interested in your findings and recommendations. The staff of the commission, together with the planning staffs of the States, is presently engaged in the research and studies necessary to bring into focus the dimensions of problems facing our region. In order to form a base for our long-range economic development program, each of the States is outlining an investment plan. Our commission has selected a tentative list of 10 categories which will receive primary emphasis: Agriculture, public health, education, water and natural resources, transportation, industrial development, capital improvements, recreation and tourism, public safety, and social services.

An initial study, which was conducted quickly to give us a socioeconomic comparison of the region and the nation, brought to light some facts which bear directly on some of the areas you are studying and evaluating. I would point out the following:

In 1960, the average age of farm operators in the Ozarks region was around 50 years of age. The present age of the rural area population is an unknown factor. It could be substantially above that of 1960. If rural farm people are in this age bracket, programs designed for retraining and creating skills needed by modern technology may be quite limited and new programs will require considerable imagination in being devised.

Between 1950 and 1960, every county in the Ozarks region lost in the field of agricultural employment, and the outmigration of people from the region was quite marked—almost half a million people.

The farm operator level-of-living index in 1959 for the Ozarks region was 71 percent of the United States average. In other words, it was almost 30 percent below the U.S. level.

The average value of land and buildings per farm in 1959 in our region was $13,000, compared to $35,000 in the United States as a whole.

The size of farms in the Ozarks region is roughly two-thirds that of the national average, but the difference with respect to the value of the sales of commercial farms is even more striking. Over 25 percent of these farms had sales of less than $2,500 in 1959, as compared to one-seventh of all U.S. farms. Since this figure is the gross income from their operations without allowance for the cost of production, it is easy to see that the level of net income was astonishingly low.

There has been a pattern of movement from the farms to rural nonfarm living in the Ozarks area rather than to the urban areas in the Ozarks. Where 50 percent of the people were on farms in 1950, by 1960, 50 percent of the people in the Ozarks region were in the category of rural nonfarm.

These are merely a few of the older statistics which point up the conditions existing in our region. In addition, it has been reported that over 50 percent of Americans today would prefer to live on a farm or in a genuine small town. But the fact is that 70 percent actually live in cities or suburbs, with more streaming in all the time. Our challenge is the same as your challenge. We must devise new and better solutions to the problems of rural America, which in turn will directly affect those problems faced by our massive urban complexes.

We need, it seems to me, to stop occasionally and recapture the perspective of the underlying causes of the present condition of rural America.

There was the agricultural revolution, bringing with it a drastic reduction in the need for agricultural farm labor; the improvement of highways and methods of transportation, making it easy for the farm population to move into urban areas, or at least to reshape its major shopping habits; the tremendous growth of our industrial and technological capacity in the urban areas, which acted as a magnet because of the new job opportunities that were available. All contributed to bringing about the present condition of rural America, which finds itself in many areas to be the depressed and underdeveloped regions of our country.

You will recall the days not too far distant when industry, desperate for the manpower needs of our burgeoning economy, sent recruiting teams into the rural areas and funneled this work force into the urban area. Just as we have had, in some places, a depletion of our natural resources, during this time we also experienced the erosion of our manpower from the rural areas.

Now, it seems as if some metropolitan areas have reached a size which compounds complexities of living beyond the capability of economic or social management. We expect there will continue to be an enormous explosion of our population in the years ahead. It seems to me that the time has perhaps come to channel this growth away from the urban areas and back to the rural nonfarm and rural areas of the country, where it can be accommodated. Creating employment opportunities for all age groups in rural regions would tend also to restore the normal community structure and increase the returns expected to result from building the public facilities now lacking there. If this can be done, it will make a major contribution towards solving both the problem of the economic lag of the rural areas and stabilizing the problems of the metropolitan areas.

It may be that the time has come for consideration to be given to a stated national policy which recognizes that there are optimum population sizes or densities for healthy and vigorous areas. It may be that we must devise methods which will effect a decentralization of our population away from the highly urbanized areas. Even without further migration to the metropolitan areas, in 10 years their normal growth rate will bring problems the dimensions of which we have just begun to comprehend.

We know we are going to have growth. Let us see if we can direct this new growth towards rural America for the benefit of the entire country. The increase in the number of new towns, and the enlargement of existing rural and nonfarm areas by the creation of industry, better jobs, healthful surroundings, community facilities, and quality education may perhaps result in a solution to both the problems of rural poverty and a lessening of the problems of our urban cities.

A long-range economic development plan which seeks to build up the potential of jobs away from the massive congested areas of our country would certainly assist in helping the latter with their problems and at the same time build an economic base for the depressed areas to a point where they would again contribute greatly to our national welfare.

The formulation of the solutions to the conglomerate of the many pressing problems which we face today will not be accomplished solely at the Federal level. Neither, we know, will it be solved only at the State and local level.

The rapid technological and social changes which swirl about us imperatively call for a joint effort on the part of all levels of Government, together with the private sector. We know that the solutions do not lie in accepting the status quo or looking backward. The challenge is to the creativity with which America is blessed. The abundance and the promise of our country can indeed be spread to all parts and areas of our nation, if we will it. The emergence of new techniques such as the regional commission is evidence of our firm belief that we are moving ahead and we can find the answers. They will not be final answers for that would be contrary to the nature of change. But they will be answers which will help lift all Americans to a better life.

Our regional commission will follow closely your progress and would be grateful for being kept abreast of your findings and your insights so that we may, as quickly as possible, take them into consideration in our problem-solving endeavors.

Please let me tell you again how much I appreciate the opportunity to be here today and to have testified before you.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. McCandless. It was good of you to outline the responsibilities and opportunities of a regional commission such as yours. The Appalachian Regional Commission exists, and how many others are there?

Mr. McCANDLESS: The Appalachian Regional Commission is under different law than the others. It was the forerunner and the father of us all. There is the Ozarks; the Upper Great Lakes; New England, the six States of New England; the Four Corners area of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah; and now there is a new Coastal Plains, which is made up of those sections of North and South Carolina and Georgia which are not included within the Appalachia region.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. LAUREL: Mr. McCandless, the regional concept, of course, is a kind of new thing, and I am glad you gave us a little background there. Appalachia really is the original regional concept, and applying it to solving, on a cooperative basis, some problems between the States and the Federal Government, and local governments. Now, but as background to its creation, does it take usually a State compact along with the other States, or do they undertake such an agreement as they do with other regional problems like in oil and so on, or how do they go about doing it?

Mr. McCANDLESS: How do they get it started? It has to come from the State itself, an expression of interest, and then they've got to prove, you know, that they are lagging—have areas within their States that are lagging behind. These areas must be contiguous, and the application is made for designation to the Secretary of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. GIBSON: Mr. McCandless, I am interested in whether or not there are any mechanisms either in the Appalachian experience you can cite or those in your activity—I understand yours is very young.

Mr. McCANDLESS: That's right.

Mr. GIBSON: But I am interested in mechanisms that would capitalize on the regional relationships in the sense of assisting the districts to participate in interrelated planning, economic development planning, in the industrial development which would have to take help to decentralize, maybe, some areas so as to help build some others, build up positive relationships. Thus far we don't have—our legislation doesn't do that; and various bills, various acts don't necessarily cause this to happen, and this is why the regional commissions could be useful. Is there any implementation potential in the commission, or is it just a planning?

Mr. McCandless: No, it is more than planning. Actually, these commissions are action oriented, as they probably should be. They take into consideration, starting at the districts, the thinking of the people in the districts to devise plans and to offer suggestions as to solutions to the problem. They come into the State for review and refinement, with the establishment of criteria, and then into the commission itself where you go through the same process again. There is only so much Government money. It will be limited in these commissions. It is at least a catalyst to what must be done by the private sector of our economy. That's where the job will be created.

The States have to make some hard decisions. We talk about the concentration of our effort and expenditure of funds in those places that have potential for growth as contrasted with the need criteria. They must have potential for growth and become a hub, you might say, for, say, four or five counties, where there would be job creation and possiblity for job creation. Our process is going forward now in Appalachia, with the identification of towns; and then they work towards building the structures for the creation of jobs.

Mr. Gibson: I have the impression, very informal, because I have not had a chance to study this thing, that the growth center concept may suffer some breakdown in Appalachia because of the attitudes of the people in Appalachia themselves. Apparently they have not caught up with the planners with regard to this, and that's why I am interested in whether or not the participation of those persons being planned for is a possibility within this sort of structure you are telling us about.

Mr. McCandless: Through the districts, very definitely. Everybody in the districts. Now, that's under the direction of the States.

Mr. Gibson: Which district programs are these? Would these correspond to the overall economic development committees?

Mr. McCandless: Right. Well, I can't talk for Appalachia, but I can for the Ozarks. The State of Oklahoma has divided the State into economic planning districts. These districts are staffed, and they prepare a plan for economic development of that district. It may be six, seven, eight counties. And then that is recommended to the State planning office, and it should result in an overall State investment plan.

The State of Arkansas has divided its State now into districts, and so has Missouri.

Mr. Gibson: Along this same line—I am just trying to zero in on something. I have looked at the overall economic development committee kind of structure, and it certainly is very characteristic of these planning mechanisms that are contrary to the guidelines that one might read about. They have not traditionally been composed, to any significant degree, of those persons whose existence in that area caused the designation in the first place—in other words, the poor, the underclothed, and unemployed—and in effect have represented banking communities very heavily. I am wondering whether the region, because especially of this situation in Appalachia where you have an independent bunch of Americans over there who just aren't going to be planned for, they may be planned with, and I think this is a pattern throughout. This thing may be related to some of the setbacks we have had in our economic development program, our area redevelopment programs, and so forth—the lack of this kind of participation, the lack of the human resources development programs and these things—and I am wondering whether the region has yet gotten in too tangibly in this area.

Mr. McCandless: Well, I would think this. I'm sure there are no two districts who plan alike. I am sure that some will reflect the people who cause the problem in the first place more than others, but the whole emphasis is on upgrading the planning effort, as I understand it in Appalachia. We are saying to our States, and remember, we aren't dictating to the States, "This is helping the people help themselves; by all means involve everyone." We can't guarantee that they will, and I am sure some districts will do a better job of that than others. But as I have said, this is not to evolve a static plan—publish it and forget it. If this is to be any good, it must be constantly reviewed and upgraded. Hopefully it will be done.

Mr. Gibson: One last question, Mr. Chairman.

The grant-in-aid kind of possibilities, the assistance with regard to grants and programs, the——

Mr. McCandless (interrupting): Supplemental grants?

Mr. Gibson: No. I led off wrong on that.

I am concerned about the kinds of gaps, or in some instances, duplications and overlapping between Government services; and simultaneously those gaps between the planning of Government services where people drop through. We can see, for instance, a very large and active—apparently it is active in something—Department of Agriculture. Many areas have very high densities of seasonal poor workers who get no resource whatsoever from any agriculture programs below what FHA has traditionally been able to do with regard to loans; they don't get caught in the diversion payment plans, you know, they are just not fitting any of the particular things, services of the Department of Agriculture. We have heard testimony, especially in—I don't know to what extent this is true in your Ozarks region; it may be true in certain parts of it. Food stamps don't quite work out because it takes capital, which they don't have; food distribution may break down because of some local political controversy; and so forth.

The regional commissions—is there any likelihood that they are going to be able to zero in on exactly those points in the Federal programs which could be coordinated better, begin looking at it from a large overview and helping to influence as a block of States the change in legislation as opposed to what we see here, the individual complaints which suffer these things but don't see it from the overall point of view? Is this a category of thinking?

Mr. McCandless: Well, our emphasis must be, by law, on long-range economic development. In other words, I put it this way: We are trying to zero in on the disease itself. We are not primarily focusing on the symptoms of that disease. You know, there are a lot of different programs around. Our responsibility is in that area.

Mr. GIBSON: By that metaphor, if we can have an FHA program which will provide housing in the rural areas, but not the hundreds of thousands of units for that very low income group in the rural areas, then that seems to me a very causative—it is symptomatic of a defect in that legislation. But before we can get to providing that housing we've got to go to work on expanding or altering or doctoring those particular mechanisms which are now existing, it seems to me.

Mr. MCCANDLESS: No question about it.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Davis, please.

Mr. NEIL DAVIS: Mr. McCandless, we all for many years have deplored the passing of the traditional family-size farm for very good reasons. What does your regional planning group propose, or what do you think it might propose, as a means of livelihood for people who want to stay on small acreages of land, who don't want to move to town?

Mr. MCCANDLESS: Well, of course, what we hope to do is job opportunities in the region. I have already indicated to you that I'd like to see those distributed more evenly so that people wouldn't have to go to the large urban centers. I am talking principally about our able young people, our most aggressive, our best educated, and some sort of distribution that way. I think they should be entitled to stay on farms if they are within, say, 50 miles.

Mr. NEIL DAVIS: What are the techniques that are being employed to make it possible?

Mr. MCCANDLESS: I am talking about jobs.

Mr. NEIL DAVIS: I realize that.

Mr. MCCANDLESS: We are talking about the entrance structure to assist the communities where they will have to do the attraction and the development of industries.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we might have one more question.

Mr. Ford.

Mr. FORD: I am somewhat familiar with the Appalachian situation, and I also understand the growth center concept. What concerns a lot of people in Appalachia, and I suppose it will concern a lot of people in the Ozarks as well—what kinds of plans do you have for those areas that are identified as not heavy economic growth potential and yet still have substantial numbers of people in them?

Mr. MCCANDLESS: I would think this. You know the growth center concept is an inexact one to begin with, because what is going to make a town grow may be as simple as one man with an idea who starts a business there and gets it going, and that town catches fire. So you are going to be changing, but the States themselves will make that decision.

Mr. FORD: Are you saying, then, that you are going to leave this to them to work out?

Mr. MCCANDLESS: The States must identify those areas with potential for growth, and I'm sure they'll be changing their mind from time to time. You know, this is not something we do as of today and then walk away from it. This should go on constantly in the State planning effort. If, for example, there are good job

81

opportunities where people, say, for 35 to 45, 50 miles around can come there, that's the growth center concept, as you well know. There might be a little town off here only 25 miles away that suddenly may come alive.

Mr. **Ford**: Yes, but I am not concerned with those that have the potential. I am concerned with those that economists have already clearly identified as having the need and that we can recognize realistically they are not going to attract industry, they are not going to develop tourism, they don't have a good agriculture potential. And there are such areas as this.

Mr. **McCandless**: No question about it.

Mr. **Ford**: And the existence of a man with a bright idea doesn't automatically pull them out. Now, what thought have you given to these groups?

Mr. **McCandless**: Well, here again the commission's concept in our area of responsibility is on the long-range economic development. There are other programs of Government whose principal responsibility is regarding these people with areas of need.

Now, what we might develop along these lines I can't say. We are only just starting.

Mr. **Ford**: All right. Thank you.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. McCandless. It was good to have you open up this whole subject of regional planning to us.

Our next person is Mr. Peter Stern, TVA director of regional studies in Knoxville.

Mr. Stern, we welcome you. I am not too well informed on this subject, but I have the feeling that TVA is one of the first regional enterprises in the country, isn't it?

Mr. **Stern**: I think one of the more modern ones anyway. May I proceed?

The **Chairman**: Yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF PETER STERN

Mr. **Stern**: Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission, ladies and gentlemen, we have assumed that this Commission is all too familiar with the causes and the statistics of rural poverty in the Southeast to expect TVA to submit a diagram. We have sought, therefore, to distill and present ideas for a positive program to reduce rural poverty, wherever possible. Several of these call for policy determination and action on a countrywide scale. Others have emerged from TVA's 34 years of involvement in efforts to narrow the gap between regional and national economic opportunity.

It is almost self-evident at this point that public action to fight poverty must focus on the most neglected of the region's resources, namely, the education and the productive capacity of its people. Only thus can the syndrome of poverty and ignorance be broken in our time. Before listing our suggestions, I should like to pinpoint the object of our attention.

First, the rural population in the Tennessee Valley is no longer predominantly a farm population. In 1964, about ½ million persons

82

lived on farms, while 1½ million persons were classified as rural nonfarm in the 15 counties that comprise the Tennessee Valley. This means, of course, that there are many people who the census by its arbitrary designation classifies as rural but who have oriented their lives to nonfarm occupations and styles of life.

Second, the age composition of Valley farmers has changed considerably from the immediate post-World War II period as a result of two decades of almost continuous migration from farm to town and out of the region. To put it simply, farmers are becoming older. Those who will constitute the bulk of farm operators a decade from now are already well-established farmers. Career commitments have been made and are almost unalterable by the time a farmer reaches his 40's. Most Tennessee Valley farm operators are already this old or older and will withdraw only through retirement or disablement. Relatively few young people will join their ranks in the years to come, and the farm population will accordingly become even older. By 1970, over half of those who were farming in 1960 will either die or be over 65 years of age.

Third, low income farms constitute a very high proportion of all the farms in the Valley. In 1964, only 8 percent of all farms had sales of $10,000 or more, compared with 27 percent for the nation. The economic significance of this large number of small and low income farms is that farm family incomes in the Tennessee Valley are much lower than their urban counterparts. In 1960, for example, 22 percent of all Valley farm families had incomes from all sources of less than $1,000, compared with only 7 percent for urban families. These low income farms, it should be realized, have not been able to take advantage of the rapid technological changes that have occurred in agriculture in the last 15 years; they have received a disproportionately small share of Government subsidies to agriculture; and, typically, they have remained beyond the reach of extension assistance.

Fourth, because fertility rates are still very high in the rural low income areas, the school-age population is sizable despite the shrinking population in the reproductive age groups. This means, of course, that the dependency ratio is high and that the young and old are a heavy burden for those in the working population whose ability to earn a decent income is limited by geography, lack of skill, insufficient land and capital, and often lack of knowledge about alternative opportunities.

Given these demographic and economic conditions, our efforts to alleviate rural poverty should focus, we believe, on three discrete target areas: The young, the old, and the rapidly shrinking class of adults whose occupational choices are limited.

The young need better educational opportunity, motivation, and information about the "outside" world of work. How can these objectives be reached? School consolidation, while essential, is but a first step in the right direction. The importance of an education that is pertinent to today's needs must be more widely appreciated, and ways to achieve it understood. Public television, as a means of access not only to the young in school but to the community leaders who guide the course and quality of elementary and secondary education, holds great promise for the future. In the meantime, and in addition, programs are urgently needed to bring practitioners of the trades and professions to the rural school-age population and, in turn, to expose these young people as frequently as possible to working environments in the nearby factories, shops, and offices.

High school guidance must be strengthened as part and parcel of the formal educational program. In each school district, advisory clearing houses might be established to channel the flow of information about jobs and, perhaps equally important, about living and working conditions, customs, and conventions in the more distant centers of employment opportunity. An interregional exchange of employment information is essential to widen the horizons of those whose traditional network of contacts is severely circumscribed.

The States in the Tennessee Valley region are firmly committed to a program of vocational education that will meet the training requirements of a modern, urban-oriented economy. Rural youths must be guided to these schools and the barriers of distance overcome. For, in order to be well equipped and strongly staffed, these schools must of necessity be located near the major centers of population and industry. Until such time as the region is served by a network of vocational education centers, selected vocational courses should be brought to the rural high schools with the cooperation of local private and public enterprises.

Without claiming expertise, we suspect that the consolidated rural high school, like its urban counterpart, could be utilized as a multipurpose center for community activities and services, or at least as a physical focus for the variety of Federal and State assistance programs now being extended to the disadvantaged areas. The idea of a community school, whose doors may be kept open 12 or more hours a day, 6 days a week, and the year round, is neither new nor untested. It has been successfully introduced in Flint, Mich., where a local foundation has made possible a variety of afterhours activities for the enrichment of all age groups. On a more modest scale, perhaps, the idea could be tested in rural school districts with the help of newly available Federal funds.

Carefully conceived, the community school might also cater to the needs of the aging who, as we have indicated, make up a rapidly growing segment of the rural population in this region. Social legislation, recently enacted by the Congress or now proposed, should begin to relieve the incidence of poverty in the age groups 65 and over. The school may then be envisioned as the one-stop service center for information and assistance to the elderly, and as a point of contact with their friends and the younger and more mobile members of the community. Here, too, the aging, low income farmer might obtain information and assistance in renting or selling his property to younger operators seeking to enlarge their more viable farm enterprises.

The adult farm operator whose options are limited by low income and lack of marketable skills is perhaps the hardest of our three targets to reach. For several years TVA has sought out the most impoverished and least accessible of the Valley's farms in order to experiment with ways to improve the decision-making capability of their operators. Extension techniques that have proved successful on farms with good commercial potential are not necessarily suitable for use with the poorly educated and hard-to-reach low income groups. In one highly successful experiment, TVA has extended the demonstration concept to the application of a bundle of improved practices onto a trial acre in each farmer's field. As a result of such intensive contacts, the extension worker has been able to gain the farmer's confidence and to acquaint him with action alternatives including, whenever possible, opportunities for training and employment off the farm.

On a somewhat less intensive scale, farm practice demonstrations for low income farmers have been held in a number of watersheds that are embraced by TVA's Tributary Area Development program. This program, incidentally, represents a multifaceted attack upon rural poverty, combining local citizen initiative with technical assistance provided by experienced TVA resource-development specialists. An important objective here is to help create a more diversified local economy in which nonfarm employment can either supplement or supplant poverty level incomes from farming.

For many people seeking to earn a living from farms without commercial potential, welfare programs and retirement still hold out the best prospect of escape from poverty. No single action could do more to relieve rural poverty in the short run than the institution of some form of guaranteed income to individuals beyond the retraining age; and we commend President Johnson's recent study suggestions along these lines to your careful scrutiny. For those who are disadvantaged yet still trainable, formulas might be found to link modest income payments to a specified retraining or continuing education requirement and to compulsory completion by their minor dependents of a secondary or vocational education program. Only in some such way can the chain of poverty, illiteracy, and indifference be struck asunder.

To sum up, we believe that it is no longer possible to make a significant aggregate impact on rural poverty by programs designed primarily (A) to increase agricultural production, or (B) to increase nonfarm employment in rural areas.

A major element in the design of an effective attack on poverty is to reject the assumption that we are dealing with rural poverty in any significant respect except location. It is to recognize that the problems of both rural and urban poverty are essentially similar in their psychological, sociological, and economic dimensions, and that the agencies that are most effective in dealing with these problems in urban areas will be the agencies best equipped to deal with them in rural areas. The changing nature of rural poverty, as Prof. Vernon Rotand has recently written—

> . . . gives increasing importance to policies associated with direct income transfers to assistance in the areas of health and legislation, and to greater reliance on small group or case approaches to the solution of individual poverty problems.

As I close, I would like to thank the Commission's members for giving us time to present this statement, and I would like to introduce, on my left, a colleague of mine from TVA, Dr. Roger Woodworth, who is in charge of agricultural economics at TVA's Chemical Agricultural Development Center at Muscle Shoals.

I myself am from Knoxville, as I was introduced, and I am in charge of regional studies in the office of the general manager of TVA.

Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Stern. This is a very helpful statement, very clear and concise.

Is Mr. Woodworth going to take 2 minutes or not?

Mr. Woodworth: No.

Mr. Laurel: Mr. Stern, what does your regional study encompass here? Is it a multi-State kind of a study? Are we talking now on areas that actually the Tennessee Valley Authority as we know it——

Mr. Stern (interrupting): This is right, sir.

Mr. Laurel: That it encompasses, for example, Tennessee and North Carolina?

Mr. Stern: The Valley itself, sir, which is the subject of all our study, encompasses approximately 125 counties in 7 States, the State of Tennessee, of course, included, as well as in the States of North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, and southwest Virginia.

When we speak of regional studies, which happens to be simply the designation of my office, it is the place where we concern ourselves with economic and social problems, data and analyses for the region as a whole or for any part, no matter how small, of that region.

Mr. Laurel: But your office is in Knoxville?

Mr. Stern: Yes, sir.

Mr. Laurel: That is where most of the Tennessee Valley Authority emanates from, from the standpoint of administrative policy?

Mr. Stern: Well, I don't think you can quite say that because, sir, there are really three main employment centers of the Tennessee Valley Authority. As you know, the administrative headquarters is in Knoxville only insofar as it is the place where the board of directors lives and works and where the office of the general manager and some of the offices are located. But the very important operations are located in the Muscle Shoals area in connection with the production and testing of fertilizers and research in agriculture; and the third center is, of course, in Chattanooga, where most of the power operations are headquartered and also work in the field of health and safety, which includes polution control and public health.

Mr. Laurel: Does it also undertake concern of the socioeconomic necessities of those areas?

Mr. Stern: It is certainly a concern, sir, of the Tennessee Valley Authority. As you know, the purpose of the public improvement, capital improvement programs of the TVA, whether they deal in the field of water or power or agriculture, are aimed, insofar as possible, to increase the well-being of the population, and, as I said in my statement, to narrow the gap between the incomes of the region as I defined it and the nation as a whole. As you probably know, when TVA started in 1933 the divergence was very great. State per capita income in these 125 counties amounted to only about 40 percent of the national average, and we are moving up still too slowly. We have reached now 70 percent of the nation's level for these 125 counties.

The Chairman: Mr. Gallegos, please.

Mr. Gallegos: Mr. Stern, where do you recruit your staff people? It would seem to be beyond the commitment your agencies have to do the programs you are now carrying out, that you have to have a staff capability such as the resource development staff that you have talked about? What kind of staff people really are needed to complete the kind of work you are suggesting? I am not talking about the educational levels now.

Mr. **Stern**: The professional work?

Mr. **Gallegos**: Yes. Where do you recruit them?

Mr. **Stern**: We recruit nationally or, to be really precise, for reasons of convenience in the eastern half of the Nation, though I must qualify this, that there is absolutely no reason why a particular person whom we want or who would be interested in working couldn't come from anywhere. But just for convenience of recruitment, and I am now speaking of professional staff with at least bachelor's or advanced degrees, recruitment is at the colleges or on the faculties if we can. It takes place primarily, I would say, in the eastern colleges and increasingly, of course, in the colleges of the region in the seven States, simply because in these schools, as their programs and the graduate schools improve, it enlarges our activities and the more recruits we can obtain from there.

Mr. **Gallegos**: What kind of backgrounds now specifically?

Mr. **Stern**: Insofar as possible, in what we would like to call community development. Obviously we have people trained in public administration, people—in my staff we have people trained in economics and in planning, not so much city planning as regional planning.

On Roger Woodworth's staff there are people trained in economics, particularly agricultural economics, and in sociology. But the people who do, as you say, the outreach work, are people who probably, for lack of a better term, are called people with community development experience.

Let me explain these. These are generalities, and their job is to establish a working relationship with citizens' groups which come under this tributary area program that I mentioned but didn't describe in detail in my presentation. What their job is, is to identify the types of problems that these groups would like to work on and need to work on, and what then is focused into these areas by these generalities are the technical assistance that TVA has in its program divisions—technical assistance and knowledge which was developed not necessarily for this outreach program, but for the execution of TVA's traditional programs. May I just give one example?

For example, there is an awful lot of interest in these tributary areas in strengthening their ability to do something about public outdoor recreation. TVA has a recreation staff, partly recruited for many, many years and used for many, many years as part of the development of water resources programs and the utilization of the many thousands of miles of reservoir shoreline that are now in place. These people, you see, are now being extended from what has been their traditional in-house responsibility to offer whatever assistance they can to local citizens' groups that want to, as well as possible, and pretty much by themselves, undertake small, often modest projects for local and small regional improvement.

Another job that these generalists have is to pinpoint specialists outside of TVA—in State Government, in Federal Government, in universities—who can be brought in, you might say, as consultants.

Mr. **Laurel**: Or scouts. You can use them as scouts for personnel that maybe you could use later on, like they use in baseball?

Mr. **Stern**: I don't know about that.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Ford, please.

Mr. **Stern**: Yes, sir.

Mr. **Ford**: Mr. Stern, I am intrigued by one of your statements,

87

or what I call one of your statements, which seems to be in conflict with some of the testimony that we heard this morning when it was suggested that one of the solutions to the poverty problems in some areas of the South would be to utilize land that was not presently being cultivated for the cultivation of truck crops or something of that nature to increase income, and also to bring small industry or industrial jobs into the region.

As I caught your statement, it was something of this nature—that attempts to increase agricultural productivity and nonfarm jobs in rural areas was not a solution to the problems of rural poverty. Would you expand on that?

Mr. Stern: I would be very glad, and I'd like to do this in two parts, if you don't mind.

I would like to talk for a moment about the provision of nonfarm jobs, namely, industrial development in the area, and I'd like to do this myself. And to try to answer your question about truck farming, I would like to ask Dr. Woodworth to talk about this because this is really his area.

With respect to industrial development, or let's call it nonfarm opportunities, we are simply trying to be realists here. Unquestionably, this part of the country, particularly the States in which we are now working, the seven States, has experienced, in the last 10 years, a tremendous upswing in industrialization. In fact, when you look at the jobs of manufacturing in this area and compare them to the nation, it is an interesting phenomenon; there was a national takeoff, so to speak, right after World War II, but this region lagged until '55 and our takeoff began in '55 and '56, but this is in crude numbers or payrolls.

Then you look at the makeup of some of this industrial growth and you find that, numerically, whether it is in payrolls, but much less so in payrolls, primarily in employment, this tremendous increase is concentrated in what I might simply and briefly call the low wage industries, with all the implications that this carries. These are the industries that have come to this area because of the availability of low wage labor, which was traditionally seen as a major factor of attraction for industry.

Now, these very firms have, of course, located as close as possible, insofar as their other location considerations were involved, in the rural areas. And to the extent that they have located there, to the extent that they have brought payrolls there and have perhaps provided what we might call a transitional stage for people who have never worked in industry, have never worked in the routine of regular employment, they have provided a transitional form of employment for people who come off the farm and hopefully will proceed either into higher paying or more specialized and skilled industry or perhaps into the services. So it has been a good thing in general. But in the long run, these industries, as the very areas into which they came 10 years ago are beginning to fill up with higher wage industries, are beginning to move even further towards these pockets of poverty, and even further away from places where the wage rates are going up, and there they are providing perhaps a service, too.

I don't want to play down the importance of the garment industry or the woodworking industry. It is an important one, and, as I say, it fulfills a function. But I don't think it is going to provide a solution in the long run, only because it provides low wages, which means that the multiplier effect of its primary employment is not very large, but more important, it doesn't really provide the higher skills which provide the takeoff. Also, unfortunately, it provides so much female employment that you get all the imbalances in the family structure —I am not a sociologist—that are caused by this very heavy female employment.

So all we are saying is that in order to create in our region the kind of balanced economy where the exodus from farming is counterbalanced by industrial and, hopefully, the service employment, the higher grade service employments, we are going to have to create an environment and the skills for it for the kinds of jobs that make an economy grow. And that's, in a way, the direction in which so much of TVA's efforts are oriented because, whereas we never can claim direct responsibility for a particular location of a private enterprise, we do hope that our programs, taken as a whole, and certainly the programs of land development, water development, flood control, power development and so on, do create an attraction for the industries at the other end of the spectrum, the very highly capitalized, high wage industries, you may say not very large employers, but, nevertheless, the industry which forms the balance to a very large influx of low wage industry.

Have I answered this?

Mr. **Ford**: Yes.

Mr. **Woodworth**: I will just comment very briefly on the horticultural crops, specialty crops. We do see a potential here in selected areas. We have watched Sand Mountain, for example, this kind of production increase quite drastically in the last few years in western North Carolina in selected things. This is not a solution as we see it to the low income problem. Even in areas with a high rural population and where these are feasible, we do not see this as anywhere near a total solution to the low income problem.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. **Bonnen**: Just to extend that a bit farther, again working from some testimony this morning, I take it then you would also say that 100 percent of parity, whether that's price or income parity, is not going to solve rural poverty problems either?

Mr. **Woodworth**: That is correct.

Mr. **Bonnen**: Now, going one step further, Mr. Stern, if this is the case, and the problem is one of welfare and social security, health, education programs, mounted from those platforms from which they are best mounted, whether it is urban or rural, how do you perceive these to be made effective in rural areas?

I see these as two things: One, the outreach problem. How do you effectively reach these people? And, two, do you solve the problem in place, or do you—are you faced with situations where you simply have to, either by virtue of the access problem or by the nature of the kind of services you are rendering, have to solve this in an urban center, carrying all the implications of migration and resettlement?

Mr. **Stern**: This is a very large question.

Mr. **Bonnen**: I realize that.

Mr. **Stern**: And it would require a very large answer, and I don't think the gentlemen will probably want to listen to us.

We have tried to meet this problem by saying that obviously outreach is terribly important, because in many ways, as somebody earlier this afternoon talked about—I think you, Mr. Gibson—about the problem of the growth centers, and both the political problems involved in it, and how can you, big Government, put a finger on the places that are suddenly going to mushroom because you have designated them as a place that's going to grow and it is going to suck everything in just because these happen to make sense from the point of view from the economies of scale.

So on the one hand, this is a very difficult thing. On the other hand, certain efficiencies of service provision must be achieved simply because the tax base, whether it is the local one, the State one, the Federal one, is just so narrow that in order to provide to these groups the variety of welfare and social services we are talking about we are going to have to somehow consolidate them so simply there isn't so much overlap of people and places, and that's why we are playing with this. All we are doing with the idea of this community school—it is just an idea right now. It is not the growth center, but it is a place where several things can be achieved. The attractiveness of the community school is simply this, that in most rural areas this is the most significant public investment in the area. It is a shame, it seems to me—I am fairly new with TVA, and as we travel in backward areas, we see this tremendously wornout housing stock. The one investment most areas still offer—new investment in schools—is so underutilized in terms of being used for 6 hours a day.

I haven't really answered your question, but it is somewhere inbetween.

The CHAIRMAN: We will have one more.

Mr. Gibson.

Mr. GIBSON: Mr. Stern, does any of what you have been talking to us about say anything to you with regard to the possibility of the role that new towns may play in this regard? I know that also is a large question.

Mr. STERN: Yes, indeed. You know, new towns like industrial parks 10 years ago and research parks 5 years ago are sort of a fad term, and an awful lot is included in that. Today, if I use the words, image of new towns has very heavily become the quite elegantly planned and singly assembled suburban town, which claims that it will have socioeconomic variety, but for reasons of the pocketbook usually does not.

Mr. GIBSON: To provide services, yes.

Mr. STERN: May I say this. Our own TVA programs' impact upon the location and growth of communities is relatively limited or rather indirect because, quite obviously, we are not in the business of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, to put it simply. We work with them very closely. That doesn't mean that we are not interested and involved insofar as it is within our capabilities and within our mission.

I mentioned the Tributary Area Development program a little earlier. We discovered as one of the things, as you gather, these local associations—people are generally interested in improving their small communities, their shops, business districts—are far below the 701 program level, very modest, also below the capability to hire a consultant. So when we go in, we try to help them, again as a byproduct of our planning and architectural services. Our achitects, on the one hand, design steam plants, and, on the other hand, are enlisted to draw up a face-lifting program for the main street of towns of 1,500 people. Now this sounds sort of incongruous and this isn't very much, but sometimes this is just enough for a group of merchants to decide that perhaps they can do some fixing up and bring some purchasing power back into this locality or keep it there rather than letting it go to Knoxville or Atlanta. It is very modest.

Now speaking to the new town point, I can say at this point the following: That we are very much interested in trying to find ways when we help with local flood control projects—I am not now speaking of dam projects and reservoirs, but local flood problems, particularly in this hard-core Appalachian district of West Virginia and northern Tennessee. When we were called in somebody asked, "Can you straighten out a channel in this town so we don't have a flood." We are now coming back and saying, "We can help you, but can we not at the same time do something about relocating some of the most wornout housing from this area, even though it isn't necessarily in the channel? The fact that we are doing channel clearance and have to take some land alongside, can we do some modest urban beautification?" We are beginning now to tie-in, in keeping with the general Washington desire for much closer integration of Federal programs. We are trying to get HUD and the Appalachian commission to come in, since they all have programs in communities in Appalachia, and say, "Look, we are going to try to relieve a flood problem here. Can you at the same time plan a public housing program or provide a small amount of urban renewal?" So that all these things, reasonably well time phased, will give a better wherewithal.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Stern. You have been very helpful in outlining your program. We greatly appreciate your help and that of Mr. Woodworth.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Our next candidate is Mr. Harold Dettman.

I am rather glad you came and I think you are, aren't you? Weren't you under snow up there?

Mr. DETTMAN: We spent 2 days last week in Kalamazoo and 2 days under snow trying to get to Washington and couldn't do it. This week we made it.

The CHAIRMAN: These gentlemen are from the Upper Peninsula Committee for Area Progress, Escanaba, Mich.

STATEMENT OF HAROLD L. DETTMAN

Mr. DETTMAN: Mr. Chairman and members of this Commission, I appear today as chairman of the Upper Peninsula Committee for Area Progress (UPCAP), a regional development organization representing Michigan's Upper Peninsula. In my private capacity I operate a motel in St. Ignace, Mich., and am chairman of the Mackinac County board of supervisors.

I am grateful for this opportunity to appear before you to present the views of UPCAP on the problems of rural poverty.

Michigan's Upper Peninsula is centrally located in the Upper Great Lakes region, with Lake Superior to the north and Lakes Michigan and Huron to the south. The Peninsula has a number of important geographic features, which help to give it its distinctive character. First of all, there is the matter of size. The region covers an area of 16,000 square miles and is approximately half the size of States like Maine, Indiana, and South Carolina. The area is thinly populated, with only 305,000 people; and this population is strung out in a relatively narrow belt along the Great Lakes shores and the Wisconsin border, with the interior of the Peninsula being largely uninhabited. Overall, there are only 18 persons per square mile, which is about one-third of the density of the United States as a whole. The population is evenly divided between urban and rural areas.

The Upper Peninsula is a beautiful land, and has many spectacular features and thousands of miles of raw beauty, in woodland, lakeshore, and wildlife, and this is what makes the motel operation profitable. I am very tempted to go on to extol the attractions of the region, but I realize that I am not here for that. Instead, I will have to dwell on some of the bleaker aspects of life in our region.

Traditionally, the economy was based on the exploitation of natural resources. Just before World War I lumbering was still in its golden days. My father and grandfather on both sides, paternal and maternal, were engaged in the lumbering business. The Upper Peninsula is also one of the world's most important sources of copper and iron ore. Since then the economic history of the region has been a depressing story. For 50 years now there has been a steady economic erosion. The great forests of pine are gone now, and a second growth of low grade commercial species covers most of the area. The great stocks of lake fish have disappeared, partly because of man's efforts and partly as a result of the depredations of the lamprey eel.

Here again we were involved in a freezer plant. These things are gone because the fish are gone.

Most of the once-flourishing mines have closed down, and a limited number now carry on profitable operations with a much reduced work force.

For many years now the Upper Peninsula has been trying to make the transition from an economy based on the exploitation of resources by unskilled labor to an economy that is based on the service trades and light industry in using and utilizing skilled and semiskilled labor. It has not fully succeeded in making this transition, though some progress has been made in this direction.

New methods of mineral beneficiation have made it possible for some mines to continue operations, and a pulpwood industry has grown in the wake of lumbering. There was a brief period of economic growth after World War II, but this died out after the Korean War. In the last 10 years the Upper Peninsula has lost about 10 percent of its jobs.

Plagued as it is by an inadequate economic base, the Upper Peninsula has had to export its natural increase of population, with the result that in 1960 the Upper Peninsula population was smaller by 8 percent than it was in 1920. In many respects this has been a normal and healthy response to economic necessities; but at the same time the constant outmigration, especially of young people, has helped to create certain population patterns which in turn have militated against economic growth. There has been a vicious circle in which low economic opportunity causes heavy outmigration which in turn has caused serious imbalance in our population. Because of the scarcity of new jobs, great numbers of the young people have to leave the area in order to find work. Generally these will comprise the better educated part of the population.

I am sorry to say that both of our sons, who are doctors, had to move to other areas to locate, one in Richmond, Va., one in Sturgis, Mich., because there isn't the potential there for a radiation therapist and a pediatric surgeon. It isn't in the area.

As a result, the Upper Peninsula population is older than normal and almost one-fourth of them have less than 8 years of schooling. Only a little more than one-third have completed high school.

The number of families with incomes under $3,000 is high—25 percent in 1960—and of these 58 percent live in rural areas. Per capita income is $1,378, which is only 75 percent of the national average. Unemployment has been a chronic problem and is usually about double the national rate. Housing presents an even more woeful situation. Fully one-third of the housing in the region is substandard; and in rural areas the proportion can rise to 50 percent and more.

Generally speaking the poor people are older, more undereducated, and live in the rural areas. There are some 2,000 Indians in the Peninsula, virtually all of them in the poverty group. Otherwise there are no racial minorities.

This large pool of poverty, especially rural poverty, acts as a constant drag on the regional economy. The economic future of the Upper Peninsula depends on its poor in a way that is not true of urban areas generally. As I have already indicated, the Upper Peninsula has a stagnant economy, and the outmigration of youths is a constant drain on the human resources of the region. The extent to which the Upper Peninsula can complete the transition to an economy based on skilled labor and the service trades depends to a large extent on whether or not it can upgrade its human resources. In other words, the War on Poverty in the Upper Peninsula is not a matter of humanitarianism; it is a matter of survival for the region as a whole. As long as the level of poverty and its attendant characteristics are what they are, we can expect our economy to remain static, and we must export our children to keep them from glutting our labor market.

All this presents a pretty grim picture of the Upper Peninsula. Faced with the conditions I have just described, community leaders in the area decided in 1961 to create a regional development body, the Upper Peninsula Committee for Area Progress. This body represents 14 of the 15 Upper Peninsula counties. The four universities that are active in the area and the six multicounty community action agencies formed under the Economic Opportunity Act have come in since our creation in 1961. Over the past few years we have developed a course of action which I would like to discuss because I think that it might have some applicability to other regions.

The first element in our approach is planning for comprehensive development. One of the more obvious symptoms of depressed areas is that they have a set of characteristics which are so interlocked that it is difficult to attack one in isolation from the others. For example, let us take the kind of development that is most immediately attractive to smaller communities: new industry. It is impossible to consider the purely industrial factors apart from community factors, and it is a hard fact that most smaller communities are not equipped as communities to support industries of any size. They may lack the necessary public facilities, the proper schools or health facilities, to serve a substantially larger labor force, or they may not be able to supply adequate housing.

In communities such as these, the only sound approach to economic and industrial development is the approach of comprehensive community development; and UPCAP is convinced that this is the true path of development for entire regions like the Upper Peninsula. On the basis of this belief, UPCAP has built up a complex of programs and services making use of whatever funds are available for various types of programs for economic opportunity and economic development. These programs are then coordinated on a regional level and are joined on a single broad front to combat the social and economic ills that beset our region.

The second feature of UPCAP's approach has been to work whenever possible on a dual level, regional and local. This method has worked ideally with programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. On the regional level, UPCAP provides the community action agencies organized under EOA with technical assistance of many kinds, and it operates some regional programs. On the local level, the autonomous community action agencies plan and carry out programs designed to fit local needs. This regional-local approach is also being developed in the area of economic development, and UPCAP is now organizing multicounty economic planning committees which it will provide with staff help to carry out planning in various sections of the Upper Peninsula.

The third basic element in our method is close cooperation with other agencies. Of the seven major programs which UPCAP conducts, three of these are actually administered by other institutions, with UPCAP retaining final responsibility for the success of the programs.

These last two points are extremely important. In regional development there is always the danger that the process will become top heavy, with the regional organization assuming functions that are better performed by local areas, or by other existing institutions. Regional planning will run into trouble if it becomes too centralized.

Since I have already referred to programs of UPCAP more than once, I think that at this point I should explain briefly what these programs are:

(1) Economic Development. UPCAP's staff provides assistance to individuals, business firms, and communities to expand existing enterprises or to establish new industries. This program concentrates on the development of "home industries," and so far 13 plants have either been built or expanded, mostly in rural communities. All told, 357 new jobs have been created.

(2) Community Action. UPCAP provides community action agencies, formed under the Economic Opportunity Act, with technical assistance in project development and in planning services on a regional basis.

(3) Small Business Development Loans. UPCAP has been providing assistance to applicants for loans under Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act. Until December 31, 1966, the program included assistance in loan processing, but now will concentrate on management assistance to loan recipients and others who need such service. As of January, 86 small loans had been made for a total of

$1,230,000. Two-thirds of these loans were to persons in rural areas of the Peninsula.

(4) On-the-Job Training. By contract with the U.S. Department of Labor, UPCAP is conducting a program for 300 trainees whereby employers are reimbursed for time spent on the job in training new employees or in upgrading the skills of persons already working. The actual administration of this program has been delegated to Lake Superior State College, one of the regional colleges. And, incidentally, we trained seven upholsterers in the Peninsula. This one lady testified that she took——

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting): Are they now employed?

Mr. DETTMAN: We trained seven of them and they are all working. They are all employed, and they are all working.

(5) Legal Aid to the Indigent. Under UPCAP auspices, a nonprofit corporation, Upper Peninsula Legal Services, Inc., provides legal services to the indigent through a number of staff attorneys.

(6) Neighborhood Youth Corps. By agreement with UPCAP, Northern Michigan University, another one of our regional universities, administers this program to provide work training and experience to disadvantaged young people.

(7) Housing and Urban Development. Under this program, a regional plan for housing and community development is underway. We are just nicely getting into this program.

(8) Human Resource Development. Through its human resources council, UPCAP has sponsored a regional conference on education and has worked to stimulate greater interest in vocational education. UPCAP has also assisted the local school districts in planning a proposed regional educational services center.

Of these programs which I have just described, four are financed under the Economic Opportunity Act, and the others are funded under other Federal programs. UPCAP basically receives its base of support from the counties, the counties participate in the support of UPCAP on a per capita State equalized tax base figure in proportion. UPCAP also receives local in-kind services of various types.

In addition to these programs of UPCAP, I would also like to make reference to the work of the six community action agencies in the Upper Peninsula. When the EOA programs were about to get underway in the Peninsula, UPCAP was asked to assist in organizing the community action program, and it received a technical assistance grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity for this purpose. With the assistance of UPCAP, six community action agencies were set up and today are engrossed in an ever-widening attack on poverty. These are multicounty community action agencies—some three counties, some two, some four, but there are six in the Peninsula. They follow very closely the same county setup as the intermediate school districts.

Among the successful agency programs, I would like to mention the following: A network of 31 area centers, mostly in rural areas through the Upper Peninsula, staffed by low income representatives familiar with each area, who provide counseling and referral service to the resident poor; Headstart programs; programs to alert the elderly on Medicare; a program for dental care; a workshop for the handicapped; a high school diploma program; a program of homemaker services; a year-round preschool program on one of the Indian reservations—that's Bay Mills and Grimley; a project to provide electricity, which has been provided—that's the Anerville Indian Reservation; and centers for senior citizens.

These agencies are developing an outreach in their communities and are improving techniques to stimulate community thinking, to assist existing agencies, and to coordinate the efforts of all persons, agencies, and institutions which have a commitment to help the disadvantaged. If the antipoverty programs never accomplish anything more than this—and we know they will—they will still have accomplished a great deal. Our communities will never again be quite the same. This itself is a sign of substantial progress.

Now, some of the recommendations for action against rural poverty—

On the basis of our organization's experience over the past 5 years, and we were 5 years old in December, I would like to make the following recommendations for a program of action against rural poverty:

(1) Comprehensive Community Planning. Such planning should cover all aspects of economic and community development, including the physical resources, the human resources, and community life. This type of planning is exceptionally difficult to initiate in small communities where there is a shortage of people trained in the nature and methods of in-depth planning. Along this line it should also be pointed out that though large urban centers are generally ready and able to take advantage of the many kinds of State and Federal aids, many small communities are simply overwhelmed by what appears to be a welter of programs, each with its own confusing set of guidelines, regulations, and requirements for submission of acceptable applications.

What appears to be needed is a program that will provide for the type of planning assistance to rural areas that was envisaged in the Community District bill, which was introduced in Congress in 1966 but which was not acted upon. Under such a program, a number of small communities could unite to pool their resources for planning. The program should also provide rural expediters, whose function would be similar to that of the metropolitan expediters who are now being employed in urban areas. Such persons should have an accurate knowledge of the types of assistance available and should be able to expedite participation by small communities in all Government aid programs that could benefit them.

(2) Economic Development. We recommend that rural areas concentrate on a home industries program, that is, development of small business enterprises, originating locally, employing small numbers of people. Such industry should be based on local natural resources and should utilize all the possible sources of private and public credit. This approach holds out far more promise of success than trying to induce large companies from the outside to locate sizable plants in rural areas. This does happen frequently, but for most small communities trying to land a big industry is following a will-o'-the-wisp.

These communities should also be aware of all their potential resources for recreation and tourism and take steps either to preserve their resources or to develop them to benefit the entire community.

We have recently completed a tourism and recreation study for the Peninsula, and now we are engaged in the implementation of this tourism and recreational study.

(3) Manpower Development. A comprehensive approach to manpower problems must be developed. At present there are a number of programs available to train people, but they may not be well coordinated. The agencies best qualified to take the lead in community manpower planning are the employment service and the local community action agencies. They should work together cooperatively to develop a broad program to coordinate institutional training and on-the-job training under the Manpower Training Act with programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, such as Title V and Neighborhood Youth Corps.

A key element in such an approach must be a program of outreach. Hidden unemployment must be uncovered, and all persons desirous of employment should be identified, including female heads of households with child care problems, older workers who have given up hope of getting employment, and handicapped persons. Once trainable persons are identified, they should also be given supportive service. Basic education should be provided when necessary, as well as health services.

We believe that the Nelson-Scheuer provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act for adult work training programs hold great promise and urge that the programs be implemented as quickly as possible. Many productive jobs for health aids, teacher aids, conservation aids can be developed to provide meaningful work in situations in which there has been a chronic shortage of highly skilled persons. We would also urge that training programs for rural areas be examined carefully to insure that there is sufficient emphasis on rural skills. In an area like the Upper Peninsula, for example, there is a real need for upgrading the skills of woods workers, who generally have very low incomes and who are not too well versed in using sophisticated equipment or methods.

(4) Education. In the rural areas such as the Upper Peninsula, population is low, school districts have small tax bases, and school staffs lack the trained personnel to draw up programs that make the best use of existing State and Federal aids. This is especially true in the field of vocational education. In our fast-moving technological society, it is quite difficult for even the very large urban school districts to adequately prepare non-college-bound youth for entry into the world of work. For small districts, and in our region there is one school district with only three students, the difficulty is compounded. This means that the rural labor force will be undertrained and will not have the attractiveness of the urban force to new industry.

One solution is the consolidation of small districts into larger ones, however much this may run counter to local pride, which cherishes the sense of identity a high school gives a community. Yet the fact is that many small communities simply cannot supply the special educational services, such as variety of vocational offerings, counseling and guidance, remedial teaching, and library services, which are increasingly accepted as a normal part of education.

I myself was in education for 23 years and when the boys started talking about being doctors, why, I had to change my way of making a living.

Another angle rural school districts should explore is the possibility of interdistrict cooperation and planning. As one example of one type of such planning, I would mention the plan for a regional educational services center which was drawn up by the Upper Peninsula school districts, with UPCAP's assistance. Under this plan, a corps of educational specialists would be made available to all the districts to assist them in designing programs for educationally deprived children. At present, the plan is awaiting the approval of the U.S. Office of Education for funding under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

(5) Housing. Rural housing is notoriously bad. In our region one-third of all housing is substandard, as I said, but in rural areas the figure is generally about 50 percent. This condition makes it very difficult for rural communities to support new industries which would employ any great number of people, since they would not be able to provide them with decent housing. The best way for small communities to handle a problem of this kind is in connection with a program such as I have pointed out in my first recommendation for comprehensive community planning.

(6) Health Needs and Needs of the Elderly. Many of the rural health needs center around the problems of adequate water supply, waste treatment, sanitation, and water pollution. Another set of problems relate to nutrition, especially of children, where the problem is not one of quantity but of quality and is often as much a result of lack of knowledge as of food supply. Rural health education is not always adequate and school health services need much improving. Far more attention needs to be paid to dental health and preventive measures. In the Upper Peninsula the tuberculosis rate is high and this is due to nutritional deficiencies and the higher proportion of older people. The need for mental health facilities is another category and includes the need for day care centers, child guidance clinics, and adult clinics.

The needs of the elderly constitute a separate category that overlaps the field of health. In an area like the Upper Peninsula the proportion of elderly people is higher than the national average and consequently their needs loom larger than in urban areas. In addition to the usual signs of distress—low income, poor housing, poor health—there is the added factor of isolation, so typical of outlying areas.

As in the case of housing, the prerequisite for finding solutions is to engage in broad area planning that transcends the boundaries of individual small communities and, in many cases, of individual counties. There are many State and Federal aids available to meet the needs I have been discussing, but they can only be taken advantage of through the medium of multicommunity groups.

(7) Our recommendations regarding the Economic Opportunity Act program.

(A) During the last year there has been increasing attention focused on the problems and needs of urban areas. Without in any way decrying this attention, I wish to point out that the problems of rural areas should not be lost sight of, and that whatever needful steps Congress may take to strengthen urban programs, it should also insure that adequate funds are allocated to rural areas and that such funds bear the same relationship to the total funds allocated as the number of low income families in rural areas bears to the total number of low income families.

(B) The Small Business Loan Program Under Title IV of the Act. UPCAP has conducted a technical assistance program under this title for over a year, and under this program we have helped to process 86 loans for a total of $1,230,000. Two-thirds of these loans have been to persons in rural areas. In the early phase of our program, we emphasized loan processing and the identification of worthy loan applicants. On the basis of our experience in this program, we can say that, outside of the problem of investment capital, the basic problems of rural business are the lack of marketing, production, and management expertise.

In the present phase of our program, we are concentrating entirely on management assistance to loan recipients and to others who need such assistance. Our present program is funded only through June of 1967, and it is our understanding that after June the entire program may be turned over to the Small Business Administration. If this is true, we cannot emphasize too strongly the need for a continued strong program of management assistance. UPCAP presently has three management consultants who service the 16,000 square miles of our region, in addition to a staff manager in the UPCAP office. In our view, this is the minimum staffing required for an effective management assistance program. Without such a program there is a good possibility that a number of the present loanees will be in serious trouble in operating their businesses. It was the intent of the program from the beginning that loanees should be given management assistance on a continuing basis. If they are denied this, they will be shortchanged.

We therefore urge that in the future administration of the program adequate staff be provided to continue the program at the present level. We feel that the present policy of making grants to public or private nonprofit agencies should be continued, in view of the fact that Federal agencies usually have only a minimum staff and that there may be some resistance to increasing the present staff of the Small Business Administration to the required levels.

These, Mr. Chairman, are the recommendations UPCAP wishes to make regarding the war on rural poverty. I know of no single panacea for this kind of poverty, which is so widespread and so persistent. But I do firmly believe that rural communities can do much if they learn to think big and if they can unite with their neighboring communities in broad and comprehensive programs of planning.

The CHAIRMAN: We are very grateful to you. We are very glad to include you in this portion of the South.

Mr. DETTMAN: I am happy to be here.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there some questions from the panel?

Mr. FORD: Mr. Dettman, I have one question that is just—well, it is not a minor point either, but I may have misheard you saying that in your regional economic development that you made reference to home industries and that there were 357 new jobs provided. Now, is that in home industries alone or total new jobs?

Mr. Dettman: That's the total new jobs in the home industry.

The Chairman: By home you don't mean handicraft, you mean local?

Mr. Dettman: I mean small industries employing small numbers of people.

Mr. Ford: This is over a 5-year period?

Mr. Dettman: This is in the past year. Over the 5-year period, when we made our initial study, which was made by Nathan Associates, they projected in '61 that we would have an outmigration of or a loss, should I say, of some 5,000 jobs. Over the 5-year period we have created 5,000 jobs, so actually we have created 10,000. The 357 jobs that we speak of in this report were created in the last year, 1966.

The Chairman: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: I would like to ask you to elaborate on something I think I heard that I am struck by as a denizen of that underworld, the Lower Peninsula, having lived in Michigan for close to 15 years. People have talked about the problem of the U.P., but it seems that very little ever really happened. You alluded to what the effect of community planning on, as you put it, a large scale, can be— that once you have gone through this process, a community is never quite the same again. Would you mind developing that a bit? What do you mean has happened in the U.P. as a result of the experiences that you have been through in recent years in planning?

Mr. Dettman: Well, initially——

Mr. Bonnen (interrupting): What is happening now that wasn't happening before?

Mr. Dettman (continuing): —the Upper Peninsula was divided in an eastern section and a western section, as much as the Lower Peninsula is divided from the Upper Peninsula. In fact, when it came to—when we talked about—the Upper Michigan Tourist Association and the travel shows, the western part of the Peninsula always wanted to get the travel shows close to the western part of the Peninsula—and the eastern part—so that when we had meetings of the Upper Peninsula association of supervisors, always the struggle was—and the west as a rule won because they are the most densely populated, and I am from the east. So that this is one of the things that we don't see now, this struggle between the east and the west. This is one thing; this is one reason why I am chairman of UPCAP and have been for the last 3 years, is because of this delineation between the east and the west.

The overwhelming thing that we see is communities working together to get an industry to locate in one particular place because that's the ideal place to put it, rather than to entice the community on one side of the Peninsula which isn't the ideal place to put it— but if it is a hardboard plant, working to get the hardboard plant where the materials for the hardboard plant are. If it is a fisheries project, working for the area that needs fishing projects and not for the area that the fishing project wouldn't do anything for. If it is a park project like the—you have probably heard of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, which just was approved in the last congressional session. The whole Peninsula united in this effort to get this approved for the Munising, Alger County, area.

This is something we have never had before—the county units working together, the township units working with the cities. This has brought a unification of the Peninsula like we have never had before.

The CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Caldwell, did you have a question?

Mrs. CALDWELL: This may be moving from the subject that you all are on, but I was wondering if you had run into any problem in providing child care, day care, whatever, in the employment of some of the mothers who do have children who do need care in a rural section like that?

Mr. PIERCE: Yes, ma'am, Mrs. Caldwell, we certainly have. We certainly have experienced problems providing day care for this female head of household category. I am sorry to say we have not yet developed a satisfactory solution for this; but in one community that I am familiar with there, a local church group has undertaken as a community project to do this, to provide child care for mothers who are enrolled in MDTA training projects. This has been a problem also. Not only could they not work; they could not afford to participate in the training because of this child care problem. But we are aware of this, and we are alleviating this by enlisting community response, such as the church group I just mentioned, to undertake things of this nature.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. BONNEN: This Commission has just been listening in here to some of the problems of Indians. I wonder if you would identify the Indian tribe involved and the sort of situation which these Indians are in?

Mr. DETTMAN: Again I think Mr. Pierce could help us here. We have the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the Chippewas, and we have the Menominee Indians.

Mr. PIERCE: And we also have Potawatomee Indians.

Mr. DETTMAN: The electrification of the Hannibal Indian settlement was—

The diocese, the Catholic diocese, gave $6,000 to this. Edison-Sioux Electric furnished the electrical, the wires and the poles. The union furnished the labor, and this was a community effort. This is something that we have never had before in the Peninsula; and some of the contributions we got from Edison. This was no small item.

Maybe Mr. Pierce could give you the figure we initially started out with by contracting this work out, and it was beyond the means of UPCAP. The same with the electrification of Bonneville Island. In many of the areas it has been the cooperation of people that have brought about the development of these particular things.

Mr. GALLEGOS: I am wondering if Mr. Dettman could clarify again. You said that this came from per capita tax. Is that sufficient to keep the machinery for the planning operation going, or do you have to depend on outside grants?

Mr. DETTMAN: We have to depend on other sources. The grass-roots support comes initially, as we said. UPCAP was the creation of the board of supervisors under Act 200 of the State of Michigan, and this enables the board to supervise us, to unite, to form such a group; and one member was appointed from each board of supervisors, with the exception of Marquette County. Marquette is still not a member of the UPCAP organization.

Mr. **Gallegos**: Now, is the ouside support coming from State or Federal sources?

Mr. **Dettman**: From both, from State sources, from Federal planning sources, and we hope from the Commission, from the Upper Great Lakes Commission, that we will get some support from this, maybe not in dollars and cents but in consultants and people services.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much. I traveled across your Upper Peninsula from Wisconsin to the Sioux a year and a half ago.

Mr. **Dettman**: I hope you stopped at our motel.

The **Chairman**: I wish I had.

We appreciate the assistance of these gentlemen very much.

The next person is Mr. Oliver Terriberry, executive director, Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission, Gainesville, Ga.

Mr. Terriberry, we welcome you.

STATEMENT OF OLIVER TERRIBERRY

Mr. **Terriberry**: Thank you, sir.

My friends from Michigan, they got a little warmer; I got a little cooler.

Gentlemen, I'd like to make a brief comment before I start. We are not attempting in the report we are going to give to discuss in detail the operation of Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission, but we are going to try to outline three areas of difficulty we find in the mountainous region of Georgia in our trying to administer the programs of the Economic Opportunities Act.

I represent the Georgia Mountains Area Planning and Development Commission as executive director. The commission, which is one of 17 such agencies in the State of Georgia, serves a CAP agency for 16 counties in northeast Georgia. All of these counties are designated Appalachia, and all are within District No. 2, State of Georgia Economic Development Administration Region.

The commission is a public agency created by the member counties through legal action of the city and county governments. The region is approximately a 5,000-square-mile area of mountainous real estate with nearly 40 percent under the management of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, National Forest Service. It has a general population distribution of some 30 people per square mile. Almost 20 percent of the population is without a telephone; 10 percent without electric service. The educational attainment is less than eighth grade, and only 2.5 percent of the total population have had any exposure to college. Our expected dropout rate of all entering 1st grade, by the time the student reaches the 10th grade, not the 12th, is an average of 65 percent. We have had it as high as 90 percent, and we have a minimum that runs as low as 45 percent. We feel that our biggest single problem facing the conduct and administration of any program is basic communication.

The largest single community that we serve is Hall County. It has a population approaching 50,000, and because of its size it has been designated an independent OEO group and operates internally and outside the jurisdiction of the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission. Within our remaining 16 counties that we serve, a 17-county area in our program, our next largest community or county is 20,000 and our smallest is 4,000.

Under the requirements established by OEO, we must establish community action councils. And in an area so widely dispersed with topographic problems, generating difficult travel, and with an average per family income of less than $2,000, it is almost impossible to formulate community action committees that are functional, simply because people cannot find the ways or means to meet on any regular basis.

It is our considered opinion that the Economic Opportunity program has been so strongly oriented to the highly populated urban regions, that the criteria for involvement and establishment of programs are so strongly related to the public housing or apartment-type concentration, that little or no provisions have been made that will permit deviation or adaption of the regulations or guidelines now in effect that will allow us to use them effectively within a rural community. To demonstrate the apparent thinking that we must contend with when we file our applications: Many times in meetings with Washington officials involved with the OEO program, we are asked the simple question, "Why can't these people take the trolley or the bus?" Obviously, if the trolley or bus doesn't exist, they can't take one.

Within the applications that we submit, one of the largest, if not the largest, single budget item is transportation. And we must build transportation into this thing simply because we have not got the force, we cannot afford the manpower without coming up with an extremely topheavy administrative staff, to go out and meet these people.

We have heard this morning and this afternoon about TVA. We don't kid when people can live a half mile by air, and it is a 20-mile trip to see them.

This brief description of our internal problems we face become compounded by the resistance of most of our State agencies; and discipline, health, education, employment, security, welfare, and so forth, become involved in the conduct of OEO programs.

We have on file in our office many copies of directives issued by Federal agencies to their sister State agencies, identifying clauses in the OEO law that we require cross-discipline coordination. Either these directives are ignored or lost, or filed without comprehension. The directives are also forwarded to the regional and county counterparts with almost the same results. We think we can say this emphatically because we also get them.

We are continuously plagued by an apparent fear that the Georgia Mountains Area Planning and Development Commission is an upstart or Johnny-come-lately agency—incidentally, the area commission program in Georgia has been in existence since 1957—and we are hell-bent in telling regional and county offices how to operate their own business. Further in the attitude impressed on us is that we are duplicating existing programs and services that old-line agencies have operated for many, many years.

In our attempt to create allies of these line agencies, we involve as many of their personnel as possible in the formulation, development, and description of conduct in the program related to their agencies. We lean over backwards to see to it our programs are compatible and complementary, not a duplication. We try to emphasize the importance of support both ways that must be developed between OEO and these agencies. Just about the time we get a breakthrough, they have a personnel change somewhere down the line and we have to do the whole thing all over again.

Within the OEO program itself, we are constantly plagued with the administrative decrease requiring organization changes. Incidentally, we have structured the local community agency six times within six weeks. We run into criteria changes, increased pressure for cultural enrichment efforts, and many other times what we feel are local decreases.

Without any question, it is the intent of OEO to find means to develop the whole person. And within an urbanized area where accessibility exists for broad-based exposure, this makes a lot of sense. But within sparsely populated urban areas that are some distance away from an urban center where cultural exposure is obtainable, it is extremely difficult to improvise this type of an experience. We have a need to afford these people an opportunity to elevate their employment capabilities to at least an entry level status so that they can put bread and meat on the table. We think it is this simple in many instances. But even more than this, we must develop in these people a belief that they can become competitive. And by effort on their part, and a great deal of patience and planning, mobility to the areas where employment opportunities exist is possible.

Our efforts have been along these lines. We have concentrated on developing work discipline exposure that affords opportunity to develop basic skills. We have conducted programs on simply how do you apply for a job; how to meet the environmental changes encountered in an urban existence. We have tried to meet medical needs, psychological problems, and many, many other basic components that will permit mobility. We feel we have had some success; and we feel our success has been in spite of State agencies, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and a general public attitude, rather than because of it.

The Economic Opportunity program has given communities a financial capability to do those things that line agencies were supposed to have done to attack poverty but, because of apathetic attitudes or bureaucratic red tape, are lost in the paper shuffling and entrenching processes that apparently plague many of these agencies. I give as an example—

At a recent annual meeting of a local welfare group, an annual report was given by the director; and with real pride of accomplishment, he stated that this last year's budget expenditures increased over the previous year by nearly 8 percent. They added one new employee, they enrolled seven new families, while no former recipients were terminated. Admittedly it took magnificent management to accomplish this. However, it is our feeling that the basic purpose of this type of program is to assist the needy people to get back on their feet in the hope that the need for welfare aid will cease.

Obviously, the easiest means for correcting these ills is an all-inclusive superagency capable of imposing direct orders on subagencies. However, if this were to be formed, we would have a superbureaucracy and a total lack of local support. The premise of community action to meet community needs must be adhered to, but we must find a means to build in flexibility in methods and techniques. We fully recognize that a standard pattern cannot be used carte blanche. The thinking, the orientation, the historical experience, the social, the economic, and in many ways the family and living conditions of rural people are significantly different from those of their urban counterparts. In fact, many of the urban problems are believed to be the result of these differences, manifesting themselves as a result of rural-to-urban migrants living in an urban environment.

The problem of developing intergovernmental and interagency relations must be resolved at the local level. We at the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission feel that we have made some strides in this direction; at least in the opinion of the U.S. Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the Committee on Economic Development, the American Society of Public Administrators, U.S. Department of Labor, NYC division, and many other agencies who have investigated, studied, and analyzed the operation of the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission, we have. And we are very proud of this fact.

Within our local communities, interagency and discipline relations between the commission and the various agencies is fairly good. But in spite of this exposure that we have generated, our local line agencies still do not communicate among themselves, but only through the third party of the commission. Unfortunately, at the State level we are not this fortunate. For this reason we have found it necessary to establish our own line of communication to Washington, D.C., and, in effect, in many cases we bypass the State. But, interestingly enough, as a result of this exposure that we have had in Washington, we have become quite expert in the term "grantsmanship," and much to our surprise, many times we know more about a particular program and how it can be utilized in connection and combination than even the Federal program people themselves.

Originally, OEO was touted as a program that was built on the premise that local people know local problems better than anyone else and that if these local people would identify these problems and propose a program for their solution, funds might be made available. But what has happened is that many local problems have been identified, and communities have attempted to develop projects that would lead to solutions only to find that they are stopped because of technicalities that suddenly appear. Extreme emphasis, for instance, has been placed on the involvement of minorities and target groups, which is as it should be. However, what has happened, in effect, is that in structuring committees for the development of programs, the emphasis seems to be on the committee structure requirements and preparatory planning to the general exclusion of the conduct and the objectives programmed in a meaningful project. In other words, if we somehow can get the impoverished and the minority to participate in planning conferences, to hold elections, to develop objectives, and to assume leadership, the meaningfulness of the programs they devise is purely secondary. In effect, what we seem to insist upon is that these people get all dressed up only to find that they have no place to go, and we feel this is disastrous.

I have discussed at some length our objections and difficulties with the OEO program. I wish to assure the committee that in spite of these comments, the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission feels that if we are to plan for physical and economic development, which is the commission's basic charge, we must also plan for the development of our people. The OEO program is one of the most meaningful efforts to be devised by mankind; but we must have, for the success of this program in the type of rural area that we serve, more latitude in the guidelines dictating structure and target area involvement, and somehow improved cooperation of the supportive State and local agencies. We often feel like the surrounded wagon train, because we have an excellent program, have adequate Federal ammunition within the circle; but we are constantly having to defend ourselves from the attacking State and local line agencies.

The Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission has been deeply involved with OEO activities since its early planning stage and has been administering programs since November of 1964. The three areas of difficulty generate a hapless situation of being damned if we do and damned if we don't, and causes embarrassment for having expressed a complaint without being able to suggest a possible course for correction.

But, in summary: First, we have reluctance on the part of State and local agencies to give more than passive support to community action groups; second, we have difficulty on the part of the Federal office to devise criteria adjustable to both urban and rural conditions; and third, we, at the local implementing level, have the responsibility of making this a meaningful program capable of effecting long-range results. Thus far, however, our observation is that the longer this need for harmonious interplay exists, the stronger the tendency becomes to demand harmony by coercion or even political pressure, with the result that the problem compounds rather than dissipates.

The OEO Act provides for development of interdiscipline response. It creates a group that is sanctioned to cross established jurisdictional and discipline boundaries. When success is obtained, the established agency within whose general jurisdiction the program lies, usually yells, "Sour grapes." When the project fails, they respond with, "I told you so."

We feel that you people, better than we, know the penalties for encroaching, either real or imagined, into the private sphere of another agency. Historically it has been a sin, and it still is. Yet we, at the local level, must cross these lines with or without sanction and support if we are to do the job that must be done; and therein lies our problem.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. I think this is a very good statement of problems which still exist, on the local regional situation.

Are there questions?

Mr. Laurel.

Mr. LAUREL: Mr. Terriberry, you made a statement of which I didn't get the full impact. Maybe you would like to elaborate a little bit on it. I know that first of all under the OEO program as originally visualized or originally planned, they wanted involvement on the part of the people that needed the most help. Now that these are areas in practical application then, of course, they seem to break down a little bit, changing in theory and some ways; and then when you go to apply some of these reforms, the rules that have been employed by the OEO people seem to be some kind of a breakdown. For example, on a board I think the tendency is to have possibly 50 percent to be made up of the target people, target area people, and then you have the structuring of these committees. I mean you have a representative, for example, of the community leaders, that is, the county and city people. You have, of course, the civic organization or the organization that works toward civic and community betterment, and you have the target area people. What has been your experience along those lines? Can you comment on it?

Mr. Terriberry: The reason we feel this emphasis is too strong in the rural groups is that in your small communities, the poverty or the target area people are not this isolated from the so-called community leaders. After all, these people are growing up together. Their children are in school together. It is not like a large metropolitan area where the Government has isolated an entity through the populace that it serves. In the small communities, you just don't have this much. And I give a case in point. We have got a community in which four youngsters lost their parents. The parents were on welfare. The oldest boy in the family is 18, the next one is 16. Well, we maneuvered very quickly, and got both these older boys on an NYC program. Up to that point they hadn't expressed any interest. But more important, the community got behind these youngsters, so to speak, and passed the hat around. The first thing they did was to absolve these youngsters of any mortgage claim on the property. The second thing they did, they got up enough money to where income became useful to them; there was groceries on the table. The local banker paid off the electric light bill for the family. The family is staying together. Also, the school authorities got together and decided to work out a program where these kids can continue their education and graduate. The case goes before the courts in that county this next week, in which the community is petitioning the courts to establish an administrator and the administrator will be the government of the community. This is local action taking care of local folks.

The Chairman: Mr. Davis.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: I want to speak further on that. Most of the testimony we have had up until this time, I believe, has been along the line that where the programs have failed has been due largely to the fact that the people affected, the target people, were not sufficiently involved. Isn't it possible to involve them and yet have a quality program? In other words, have one that would have the sort of quality of appeal in Washington—or wherever it is to be approved by the people who are best prepared to give focus and shape to the project, could give the leadership—and yet involve the people who are target people? Are these two inconsistent and irreconcilable?

Mr. Terriberry: No, don't misunderstand me. All I am saying is we feel that they are placing too much emphasis on this, to the extent that literally the structuring process that the local committees must go through is really, seems to be, the point of emphasis, not programed to think it out. And this is why I used the analogy they get them all dressed up and suddenly no place to put them.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: You are not advocating to exclude those people?

Mr. Terriberry: No.

Mr. Laurel: That's what I wanted to get. In other words, more emphasis is being placed on the proper structuring of committees and boards and so on, and less attention to the overall programs and the objectives to be achieved. Is that more or less true?

Mr. Terriberry: This is what we seem to find. I could give as an example a program that was injected into south Georgia that was an absolute bust from the day it was put together, because the objectives of the program were ignored. They went through the whole program of structuring committees, and when they finally got the program going it suddenly turned out to be uselesss.

In my area I could apply for a project to train pipefitters, and I'll bet you dollars to peanuts I could get the thing through, and I'd have a lot of enrollees, because we happen to be the largest moonshine stilling section in the State of Georgia, and this is what they learn to do. But what we are trying to get at—that's another side of the problem. We feel very strongly that you've got to build a program that—

Let's say, next year OEO quits. We don't want this program to disappear. It wants to continue and it wants to be so blamed meaningful that if the Federal moneys are withdrawn, that these communities, even that one less than 4,000 people, somehow or other are going to continue with some semblance of what has been initiated. Otherwise, all we have done is guarantee a bunch of communities 90 percent Federal funding, a local in-kind 10 percent, and when the store is closed, everybody goes home.

The Chairman: One more question. Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gibson: I am interested in this particular issue. I think we have seen several instances in our hearings, and I have through some of my own activities observed this particular kind of phenomenon; however, it was in my own mind—

I'm from Georgia, and I have grave concern, as you probably suspect, for minority representation in these kind of programs; and I would strongly suspect that in most of the southern communities it would be a lot easier if one didn't have to worry about significant minority participation in terms of what the community power structure feels comfortable with and will buy and pick up the tab for later on. It may be, however, that what we need to do in these communities—and I am posing it this way so that you can react in the light of this—it may be that the constructive thing in the long range, that OEO, if this is a major problem, the constructive factor is that this which the local people have never done, this coming together in order to plan and work together, facilitated by this OEO insistence, may leave a far more valuable aftereffect than our slowly dancing up to the coming together of the races in these communities to work out what are mutual problems.

Mr. Terriberry: Well, I agree to a point. And it is not because I happen to represent an area from Georgia, because, incidentally, my home—I was born and raised in Connecticut, if that has anything to do with it.

What we are against in part in your rural areas—true, if you get enough political power to build through citizen groups, you are going to get some kind of reaction. It will either be a passive reaction or it will be a positive reaction of the local politicians and the power structure. If, however, this doesn't lead to some positive programs that are worthy of the political support, what is going to happen when the local community has not got this massive incentive in Federal funds to meet together in order to attract moneys? Incidentally, OEO is a wonderful political tool for a local politician. It is an excellent tool, particularly if he himself is partly involved, say, in a Youth Corps program or a Headstart program. He can stand up there and he can hand out a bunch of checks to a lot of people. He is a man of the hour, so to speak.

On the other hand, where we've got these groups meeting, and I agree, this is the first time we are having some interplay between two races; we are having it better in some communities than in others, but at least it is a beginning. But if we haven't got even something that has come out of this that has some significance to the political structure of that community, the political structure is going to pull out of that thing. If it is going to be a real thorn in their side or they feel like they are being bulldozed, when the finances get to the point where they feel the community cannot afford the in-kind share, and if it goes to a 50/50, this may be the point. I think our 80/20 is still safe, but we've got to build this thing.

Mr. Gibson: The thing that would concern me in the situation you outline and which I realize is a real danger and one that promises problems later, some of which are already starting to crop up—there is a question of alternative, Mr. Terriberry. I do not think, and I probably feel maybe more strong about this than some of the people in your community, I do not think that the Federal Government should accede to the kind of political dynamics in terms of the questions on race that might be represented in your community. The Congress has now, of course, passed a law which says that there must be equitable distribution of the share of Federal services, and I would think that to the extent the problems—which are very aggravating ones, I'm sure, to someone like you—to the extent that they are politically based and politically tied to the tradition of racism or racial separation in the South——

Mr. Terriberry (interrupting): That's not the side of the politics I am talking about. A politician, and, gentlemen, if you will excuse me, a politician is like anybody else. A great deal of his motivation is in his pocketbook, and our local politicians, the individual county commissioner, the small-town mayor, first of all, the job he's got isn't worth having. He's not making a living off of the darn thing. He is serving really because of the honor or for some other motivation that we know nothing about. But we do know that he is subject to influence by the general public, because otherwise he wouldn't have sought this position. If he can do something, create some sort, call it a monument if you wish, to his administration, he is very receptive to this idea. OEO is offering us this potential in many, many communities. And to help alleviate your feelings again even a little more, the area that we happen to serve, northeast Georgia, is the odd-ball area in all of the South, because our nonwhite-white situation doesn't exist. We don't have nonwhites in the mountains.

Mr. Gibson: I know you have a very small percentage. You did allude to a minority participation, I know.

Mr. Terriberry: We have run into this structuring process thing to the extent that real good programs that had a potential for, well, right on into permanent-type employment with an upgrading scale hitched to it, but, by golly, the thing got cut off simply because we did not go through this meticulous structuring process that the regional office said had to be done.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Terriberry.

Mr. Gibson: That word can cover a multitude of sins. That's why I am afraid of the term structuring process. I'd like to know the details about it.

Mr. Terriberry: I'd like to talk to you about it.

The Chairman: We are doing extraordinarily well with our schedule, and we thank you very much. It is very good to have you state the situation as you have faced it.

Our next appointment is with Mr. Robert Miles, president, Panola Cooperative. He lives at Route 2, Batesville, Miss.

Mr. Robert Miles.

Very glad to have you with us, sir. Proceed when you are ready.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT MILES

Mr. Miles: Mr. Chairman, I believe from some advice I have got from you and some of your committeemen I was to limit my talk for just a few minutes, and I believe I will take less than what you say.

Rural life 25 years ago was rather comfortable and a happy life compared to that of today. Today there is starvation, broken homes, illness of many kinds, and many more instances of degradation and poverty.

During the years when cotton was considered king, I have seen families of 8, 9, or 10 clearing from $2,000 to $4,000 each year. They could buy food, clothing, medicine, and other necessities to make life comfortable. Usually there were several cows which supplied the family with milk and butter. Occasionally a beef was killed to substitute for the pork and chicken meat diet. Practically all of the farm families were given plots of ground to plant a garden. This gave the families a variety of fresh vegetables most of the year. An adequate amount of bread was the least to worry about because corn could be easily exchanged for meal at all times. Poverty was just a word and not an experience.

Rural life today has changed for many reasons. The land has been sold or handed down from one generation to another. The use of many kinds of modern farm machinery has contributed greatly to the conditions of the poverty-stricken, homeless, and starving rural people of today.

There are landowners who have sold their tenant houses. At least they won't have to see the faces of the hungry and ragged.

If one would tour the rural areas in Mississippi, you would find families living in houses hardly suitable for barns. Oftentimes a family of seven or eight sleep in one room heated by a wood heater. The houses are extremely uncomfortable because the fuel can be obtained only by gathering the bush and weeds that grow on ditches and bayous. The forest has been cleared away, leaving nothing to be used for fuel for homes. You would see the rooms sealed with cardboard boxes to keep out the cold and the light from the moon and stars. These are people that know what it means when Jesus taught his disciples to pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," because they know not where their bread for tomorrow will come.

Yes, you will see the surroundings untidy. You may ask why. Can you imagine the family leaving home in the morning before sunrise, home for lunch, and returning after sundown. They couldn't have much energy left to do very much cleaning, besides the fact that the nearest water pump may be half a mile or farther from the house.

Mothers are still giving birth to babies without ever seeking a doctor. The local midwife is her only attendant. No wonder that the lives of these unfortunate are short.

Fear plays a tremendous part in the lives of the majority of these people. These are the people that are afraid to ask for enough space for a garden or a small loan to see a doctor. They are afraid the answer will be "No, and if you're not satisfied, you will have to move." Just where would they move? Most are told if they register to vote, they surely must move.

Fear has a right to be in the minds of many. To try to protect your family from harm or danger would surely send you to jail. The only counselor he could obtain to represent him would be against him. One example of what one should fear is to look at the bullet holes in the outside as well as the inside of my home.

What can we Negroes do to help eliminate some of the problems of poverty?

The West Batesville Farmers Cooperative offers a vegetable program to families of low income in and around Batesville. Families may grow peas and okra for market through this cooperative. A family of four or five can earn $75 to $100 per week without interfering with the work and harvest of their crop of cotton.

The President's poverty program has been a lifesaver to many. The county health and welfare programs do little or nothing to help the poor and needy. One can consider himself most fortunate to qualify for welfare aid.

A good training program would be of great help to the poor. A knowledge of buying, spending, managing, and saving would be helpful to many.

We have dreams of better things to come. Three years ago the West Batesville Farmers Cooperative was just a dream. It is a reality today when you can see our office surrounded with three cottonpickers, four combines, two 2-ton pickup trucks, and a highboy.

The Chairman: Mr. Miles, the activities of the cooperative have been directed—you were speaking of this machinery. This is one of the main programs of the cooperative?

Mr. Miles: Yes, it is.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Let's begin with Mr. King.

Mr. King: Mr. Miles, I gather you are a farmer?

Mr. Miles: Yes, I am.

Mr. King: And you have been able to survive and stay on the land?

Mr. Miles: Yes, I have.

Mr. King: Have you had an opportunity to purchase land or are you on rented land?

Mr. Miles: I have had the opportunity to purchase land.

Mr. King: You are one of the more fortunate members of the group that you speak for?

Mr. Miles: Well, you might say one of the most lucky ones, among the lucky ones.

Mr. King: Now, in forming this co-op, apparently you or your associates have had some business education or some business background that is working so successfully. Do you want to tell us about that? I think that would bring out the point of what training means to people of your category.

Mr. Miles: Yes. Well, most of us who are in this co-op have had very little business training or what have you.

In fact, the people that I speak of are mostly people who are working on shares or who are doing daily work. We do have quite a few around that's fortunate enough to have purchased land before the crisis came.

Mr. King: Have you acted as the business manager for this group that you speak of?

Mr. Miles: Well, I am acting as the president of the group.

The Chairman: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gibson: Does the co-op hire staff to handle any of its business, or is it all handled by the members?

Mr. Miles: It is handled by a board of directors, nine members, and these nine men give their work free.

Mr. Gibson: How did the co-op get started? Is this a Government program? Did the Department of Agriculture help you?

Mr. Miles: Yes, I would say the agriculture program from the Farmers Home Administration gave us a lot of assistance. If you'd like for me to tell you how we got started——

Mr. Gibson (interrupting): I'm glad you said that. You are the first person who said you had any resource from the Farmers Home Administration.

Mr. Miles: Yes, we are very pleased with our administration in the county there.

It got started several years ago when we had no dreams of a co-op. We were selling our okra to a local buyer. We became dissatisfied with the price that he was paying, and we asked him for a raise. They wrote us all a letter or card of some kind and told us that he would raise us one-half cent and for us to mind our own business. So we began to mind our own business by getting together and trying to raise the price.

Mr. King: What has been the difference in the price structure there now?

Mr. Miles: Well, we are in competition, and we have raised the price of okra, that is one of the vegetables that we grow, one cent from the time that we begun. He offered a half a cent, and we did boost the price up to a cent by having competition.

Mr. Gibson: You mentioned something in the latter part of your statement that I'd like to pursue a little bit. You said that the county health and welfare programs have been of little resource to the people you were describing to us?

Mr. Miles: Very little.

Mr. Gibson: And you alluded to the difficulty of obtaining welfare aid. Would you elaborate on that a little, please.

Mr. Miles: Well, welfare has the constructive part in their program whereas they have certain laws that they go by in the State of Mississippi. For an instance, if a lady would have seven or eight children and no husband, if her husband had died or some reason they are not together, they are told when have you last time had a man in the house, or come down to have intercourse with you, and if they say within 6 months, they disqualify them.

Mr. Gibson: Now, suppose, for instance, this was not a question in a particular family case. Does that automatically mean they get the welfare?

Mr. Miles: Well, they have to go back to the landlord and get some kind of a signed statement that they qualify for—they have no assistance or subsistence from him at all. And 9 times out of 10 the landlord wouldn't sign the complaint.

Mr. Gibson: Why?

Mr. Miles: Oh, for some reason. It seems that he is trying to show the welfare that he will take care of his labor.

Mr. Gibson: This particular business of getting the landlords to certify whatever it is, in order to be eligible for welfare assistance, this step of going to the landlord for some sort of certification, is this used in order to assure the landlord of a labor supply which has no other alternative but his wage, whatever level it might be?

Mr. Miles: Yes, of course.

Mr. Gibson: This is as I understand the pattern.

The Chairman: Mr. Davis, please.

Mr. Neil Davis: Mr. Miles, how far did you go in school?

Mr. Miles: I am a dropout of 11th grade.

Mr. Neil Davis: Do you vote?

Mr. Miles: Yes, sir.

Mr. Neil Davis: Are there very many members of the cooperative who vote?

Mr. Miles: Yes, for the last 3 years we have been able to register and vote. Before then it was impossible.

Mr. Neil Davis: Has this made any noticeable difference in your ability to negotiate on prices for what you sell and this sort of thing?

Mr. Miles: The voting process?

Mr. Neil Davis: Yes.

Mr. Miles: No, I wouldn't think so, no different than the price that we sell.

Mr. Neil Davis: What about your standing with the business community, with the political people?

Mr. Miles: Yes, you get recognized, better recognition, especially the local people, the local offices recognize you more.

Mr. Neil Davis: Mr. Miles, I would like for you to comment again briefly on your initial statement when you said that compared to 25 years ago the plight of the farmer is worse, or maybe I should reverse it. I believe you said that comparatively the farmer was much more comfortable 25 years ago than today with all of the changes other than the fact that there is not as much need for farm labor as there used to be. Are you standing by that statement, that those who are on the farm fare worse than they did?

The second thing I'd like you to comment on is the minimum wage. What will that mean to people who produce on share on the farm? Is it going to hurt them, help them, or what will be the effect?

The first one is just a general comment to be sure that you meant that the plight of the people living on the farm is much more uncomfortable now, and the other is the effect of the minimum wage on sharecroppers.

Mr. Miles: Yes. I can truly say that the people who are living on the farm now are much more uncomfortable than they were 25 years ago because of the labor that you have. They don't necessarily need them, and those they do have there are harassed more than they were 25 years ago because of the different changes that you have what create this problem.

Mr. Neil Davis: Is it possible that they know a better way of life and are more aggressive and want more and are, therefore, more unhappy because of that?

Mr. Miles: Well, it could be possible; this could be. But their wants are in vain most of the time.

Mr. Neil Davis: What about the minimum wage?

Mr. Miles: The minimum wage is just beginning now. I believe it will make them more comfortable, but at the same time there will be some more hindrance. For an instance: I heard just this morning that one big farmer says that he was going to the wage law, but he will have to charge rent for his houses, and what that rent will be, I don't know. It could be $50, $25 a month, and at the same time he can charge for other things that he is not being charged with now.

The Chairman: Mrs. Caldwell, please.

Mrs. Caldwell: For those persons with children who do get aid to dependent children, do you have any idea how much the State of Mississippi is able to give for the care of a child on ADC?

Mr. Miles: To be honest with you, I haven't seen a family that's on ADC in Mississippi.

The Chairman: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: I am interested in the FHA loan, that is, the financial base of your co-op. Could you tell me a little more about it? What kind of loan was it, and how did you arrange it? Did they approach you, you approach them?

Mr. Miles: Well, we approached them and we had to approach them several times before we really could get down to brass tacks.

They first told us that we were asking for too much. We only asked the first time for one cottonpicker or two cottonpickers, and maybe one or two combines. Then they told us we had to run a survey to find out really how much equipment that we really needed. So we ran this survey, and we found out in the survey that we could obtain —we had enough land or enough acreage—we could obtain three cottonpickers and three combines, which we only asked for two of each. Then it seems like they got very friendly with us then, after they saw that we really were going to get it or that we were really going further than to the county. If they weren't going to help us, then we were going to try the State or Washington or some other place. So they gave us all the help that we were looking for after finding out that we were going to pursue it anyway, and in this way when we ran the survey, we were able to get as many machines that we just spoke of.

Mr. BONNEN: What kind of a loan arrangement is this?

Mr. MILES: This is based on a 10-year loan. However, we were unfortunate enough not to pay our loan this year; we weren't able to because of the drought and the disaster that we had in this particular county.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON: Mr. Miles, I'd like to ask you a question. I assume one of your problems down there is going to be the availability of land. Would the people be interested in the Government buying land and reselling it, like they did back in the depression days, in the late thirties?

Mr. MILES: Very much so. But you see, buying land now is out of the question, because to buy land you have to pay $200, $300, $350, or maybe $400 an acre. The Government won't loan you money.

Mr. JOHNSON: Well, under your present setup they wouldn't. But, after all, I think if there is a need to settle people, then you've got a different program altogether. I just wondered if you had a need for some land for people?

Mr. MILES: There is a great need.

Mr. JOHNSON: You see, the investment is a very minor question. When we spend $20 billion going to the moon, we don't care if we pay $200 or $300 an acre for land. But I just wondered if you had the need for that type of a program.

Mr. MILES: Very much so.

Mr. GIBSON: Following up, Mr. Miles, something just clicked in my mind.

Aren't you affiliated with the Sharecroppers Fund?

Mr. MILES: No. I do know the gentleman that is affiliated with the Sharecroppers Fund.

Mr. GIBSON: This is strictly a project which just involves the people in that particular co-op?

Mr. MILES: That's right.

The CHAIRMAN: We thank you very much, Mr. Miles. You were a very helpful witness, and we appreciate your being here.

Mr. MILES: Thank you, it is my pleasure.

The CHAIRMAN: I will ask Commissioner Lewis Johnson if he will preside here a moment. He has a little special introduction he wants to make.

Mr. JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of this Commission, it is a pleasure for me to present to you today Arkansas's No. 1 citizen, Mr. William Campbell from eastern Arkansas. He has had more, I suppose, more actual experience in dealing with rural people, both low and high income people, and everyone loves him in Arkansas that knows Mr. Will, and that's what they call him, Mr. Will Campbell. Now, he is chairman of the board of the bank now, and he is sort of semiretired, doing a lot of good civic work, but he is one of Arkansas and is Arkansas's No. 1 citizen. And we are pleased to have you with us today, Mr. Will. Will you come up and give us some of your experience and advice.

Mr. Will Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL: That's a very fine introduction from a very fine man over in Arkansas, Dr. Davis.

I want to correct him on one thing. I am down at the bank every morning at 8 o'clock and stay there until 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Will, that's old habits that a banker forms that he never gets away from.

STATEMENT OF W. W. CAMPBELL

Mr. Campbell: There is too much excitement in dealing with people, and in these particular programs you have heard so much about today, it is a great privilege and a great pleasure to participate in the advancement that is being offered and being accepted by rural people. That's who we are talking about here today.

I might say in our country, which lies just to the west of Memphis—we are about 45 miles, the town that I live in, Forrest City—45 miles from Memphis. We have a very fine agricultural area there, productive land and good people, people who have lived there, raised their children there, and they have participated in continuing to own land and to cultivate it and to enjoy these things that are here for us.

Now, we do have a poverty program, of course. Everywhere, I'm sure, we recognize that there is a need for us to be concerned about people who are not privileged to have the things that we want them to have, that they need to have.

We want a good economy, it is to the advantage of everyone that we do away with poverty, certainly in a community such as ours or any other community. From a business standpoint, we want our economy raised.

Now, here is what I would say. I guess you just want me to talk just from my heart. I am associated with, Mr. Johnson has said, with most all of these programs. Now, in the Farmers Home Administration—I am just telling you this, not bragging—I am on the State committee and have been for a number of years and served as chairman of that advisory committee. Now, I know what the Farmers Home Administration is. We couldn't get along without the Farmers Home Administration in Arkansas. It certainly is administered in the finest way.

Now, on the local level, of course, I am associated, as you said, with all of these different agencies that are working to develop a better way of life. I might mention here that our county, St. Francis, is one of three counties selected in the United States for this pilot program, concerted services in training and education, pilot projects in rural development. Now, I am serving on that committee; they have had me as chairman of the advisory committee, so I know what these different— What we are trying to do is to raise the standard of our people, give them an opportunity to have better skills, those that cannot live on the farm have employment for them in the cities. In our particular county we have at least 3,000 jobs in good factories, and our boys and girls from the rural areas have access to that employment. And we expect more employment of that type.

What our job is, what you all are concerned about, what all of us are, is to give those boys and girls the things that they need in the way of education and training to be able to come in to these plants and earn a good living, have a home, raise a family, not be on welfare. Now, many will want to stay on the farm, but you know there is not any place there for all the boys and girls and men and women that we have in the rural areas now, Dr. Davis. Those people that can stay on the farm, they must be educated, too. They must have the skills to be able to use machinery. Of course, we have the manpower studies in these programs; we have a vocational school that will open there and serve about five counties, so we have something working for us. But let me tell you about this concerted —have you got time for me to read this?

Mr. JOHNSON: Go right ahead.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Through the pilot project of the concerted services in training and education, emphasis is being placed on existing local, State, and Federal agencies becoming more conscious of each other's activities and working together for rural development. Now, are you all acquainted with these pilot programs?

Mr. JOHNSON: Go ahead and explain them, Mr. Campbell, I don't think we are.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Well, there is one in our county. There is one at Todd County, Minn., and one at Sandoval County, N.Mex. Now, they are working with all of these agencies that we will name later, the ones that you all are talking about here. This program is just what it means, concerted services in training and education. The program dates back to May 1964. Under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Interdepartmental Rural Development Committee created a 16-member task force representing six Federal departments and agencies. This task force was established to explain the feasibility of developing concerted efforts in three selected rural areas. We are doing the very thing that you all are talking about, that you want to know more about. The three rural areas in the country in this vital pilot effort are the ones I have just mentioned. They have been functioning for a period of 16 months under the direction of a single coordinater. That coordinator in our county is here this afternoon. He is a very fine man; he was the second man in our county school system. He is doing a grand job. He doesn't only make these studies there in our county, but he goes to New Mexico; the New Mexico man comes to our county; and the one in Minnesota—they will work together to develop just what I think is something that will be valuable to this committee.

This coordinator has neither the power to approve or disapprove a single project, but simply works as a liaison between local people and agencies that might be able to better provide opportunities for rural people. Prior to conducting any field operations in the three counties, the Governor, appropriate department heads, Federal agencies, and State administrators, together with county leaders, are consulted to determine what resources would be made available to assist in the attainment of well-defined goals in each of these counties.

By general agreement, plans were made and work was begun in the field under the United States Employment Securities Small Communities Program. A comprehensive survey of manpower and other resources has been made in St. Francis County. The regular program was broadened to include information for a number of cooperating agencies—the health department, Department of Public

Welfare, Farmers Home Administration, Vocational Rehabilitation, Employment Securities Division, Vocational Educational Department, public schools, Office of Economic Opportunity, and Industrial Development Commission. A good response was experienced and this information is serving to better define the community. A mobile team providing interviewing, counseling, testing, and other related services established temporary registering points in 19 areas in this rural county. This unit completed its activities with an applicant total of 3,760 persons. Followup activities with these applicants began at the same time as the survey began, and to date it reveals over 3,000 individual contacts. These contacts have resulted in counseling interviews, general and specific aptitude tests, referrals which have resulted in training placements and job placements, other agencies initiating utilization of this informaton—Health Department, Vocational Education, Office of Economic Opportunity, Farmers Home Administration, Employment Security Division, and Chamber of Commerce.

A major emphasis of this project is that the training and education, the foundation upon which any training or upgrading can be built, is basic education. The educational grade levels for a large segment of the labor force are low. Therefore, attempts have been made to involve as many people as possible in this adult education. This is being done in institutional facilities, as well as coupled with vocational training projects. Basic skill training has taken place in the county under the regular vocational program and Manpower Training Act. These training situations have been based on the demand of the local labor market. Some of these training areas include licensed practical nurses, operating engineers, carpentry, basic electronics, commercial housekeeping, farm labor, and food service. Training has also been made available for the individual concerned with upgrading, updating, retraining, and self-improvement. This training is conducted by the vocational education department and is termed trade extension. This type training shows increased interest and is provided for continuing education and training opportunities for basic skills, levels, or achievements. Additional training has been carried on in the county through provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Opportunities available include Neighborhood Youth Corps, College Work Studies, Title V of the Act. These training opportunities are primarily centered around work experience and training projects.

Now, I have worked right with John Clark, who is here. He is the chairman and supervisor of the Act, of this Economic Opportunity Act, in our county, and he also has an adjoining county.

John, I would like for you to stand up. John Clark. He is a very fine administrator. I work closely with him.

Mr. Henderson is in charge of the concerted services training. Mr. Henderson, Ed Henderson, I wish you'd stand up.

These men are dedicated men in their work. I just wish I could tell you what they are all really doing over there, and they are getting the cooperation and the assistance of anybody they go to see. There is not any feeling there except "Let's get the best out of these things." If there is, why, we don't hear about it, and the business people, the high leadership you see in these two men, and others connected with it, the county agents and the home demonstration agents, Farmers Home Administration agents. I just want to impress you that in our particular county we really want this Headstart. John Clark and his group had the finest demonstration that anybody could want to see of young children coming in the bank and going around, the teachers taking them over town. They had never been around any. Those little fellows need kindergarten. If there is nothing else done in this program than to have kindergarten, the children given an opportunity to be able to get in classrooms and compete or start off with a child who has had kindergarten work, the program is a big success, if there is nothing else done.

I have attended a number of meetings where all the teachers and those working in these programs, in this Economic Opportunity program, have been together in evaluating what has been done. And I can't emphasize too strongly that kindergarten—the child should be taught; every child should have the opportunity and should be encouraged to go to this kindergarten in the regular schools. I think we ought to use a lot of our regular organizations to carry out this work, Dr. Davis. The facilities that we have—we need the nonprofessional. We don't need the teacher to go out; we need nonprofessionals to go out and work with these mothers and fathers to get the children, encourage them to come in. So we need all of it. We can use our regular agencies lots of times in lots of ways and make some of these things permanent, but we are going to have to keep this interest of the equal opportunity active to be able to have people that are not professionals but are interested in this to go out and bring in and make these thing available, get the mothers and fathers, get them interested because they may not see the need of having that child start in.

Now, I am going to submit some papers here. I have covered a whole lot more. I think education is the answer. Wherever you've got educated people, the economy is higher than it is where you don't have the education, where they are ignorant. And that's the way to raise the economy—to work with these young folk, the mothers and fathers, and train these young people, even after they get grown up and are married, in these vocational schools. Fix it so they can get into some work that will enable them to have the better things of life.

Mr. JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Campbell.

I want to ask you one question and then I want to pass it back to the other Commissioners.

Continually throughout all of our meetings we have one thing that comes up, and that is cooperation and leadership on these programs that are being operated. Now, I just wanted to make this statement: I think we have heard here one of the finest statements on fine cooperation and fine leadership among all the people and all the segments of the economy in our county, Mr. Will, and, of course, I think one of the reasons for that is because you've got a good leader sitting right out there that's been talking. So now who has a question for Mr. Campbell?

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Relating to what you brought up, and I know this will not embarrass Mr. Campbell, St. Francis County has a large Negro poulation?

Mr. CAMPBELL: Fifty-two percent.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Has there been much of a problem, if any at all, in getting this kind of participation we have been talking about where a minority group, economic group, whatever, could work together to make this kind of program possible?

Mr. **Campbell**: We have an example right here in John Clark. Mr. Clark, he has the confidence and respect and the cooperation, I would say, of anyone he wants to talk to.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: It has included the total community as far as development, you say?

Mr. **Campbell**: That's right.

Mrs. **Jackson**: Mr. Campbell, have those gentlemen back there given you any data on what is happening to the young people? Are they leaving St. Francis County in large numbers after they finish school?

Mr. **Campbell**: No, because we have employment there for them now. We are begging them to stay. We need them; the factories need them. We are fortunate to have plants there that need skilled labor.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mr. Campbell, from the beginning, did Negroes work in your plants, that is, those industries that came in? Did you have Negroes working in those plants from the beginning, so that if these rural people came in and got the training, they could go into the plants?

Mr. **Campbell**: Yes, the announcements were made right away that equal opportunity—and they worked side by side. No one has ever said a word about it at all; we have always done that.

Mr. **King**: I think I can see why they use your county as a pilot when they have a gentleman like you to perhaps spearhead the whole program. We heard some rather disturbing things today on ASC committee allotments, Farmers Home Administration loans, where the racial thing crept in. I gather that hasn't happened in our county, and I think it is because of the leadership that you and the two gentlemen in the back, perhaps, have displayed. And I think perhaps more light ought to be put on a county like yours, and perhaps this committee might do something about that in that respect; and I thank you very much.

Mr. **Campbell**: Well, thank you. I am sure that Mr. Johnson and Dr. Davis can verify what I have said about the good relationships.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I know it to be a fact—not that you need anybody to try to confirm that, but that's why I wanted it brought out—that these things are possible in a southern State and in southern communities where the Negro population is very high. If you have quality leadership in those communities, you can have total involvement in those communities successfully.

Mr. **Campbell**: We have it in both races, fine leadership in both races.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: We know you have problems with some Federal agencies. FHA in Arkansas has had not quite the same kind of problems, although there have been some. ASC has functioned properly in Arkansas and we are a southern State, so it can be done.

Mr. **King**: You would agree with our guest that we didn't hear all that completely this morning?

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Yes, I understand.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Campbell, Mr. Gallegos has a question.

Mr. GALLEGOS: When does the concerted services project terminate, and what do you foresee in terms of this kind of experimentation expanded to other counties? Will this terminate, or will you see a modification of similar programs in other counties?

Mr. CAMPBELL: I don't know just what the life—whether it will be continued or not, but we hope that it will, because it does bring these things to a point where people can see it is concerted. Now, I don't know. Mr. Henderson, is there any date set for our county?

Mr. HENDERSON: This program has been funded on a year-by-year basis, and we have met just the past week and are tentatively making new plans for fiscal year '67-'68.

Mr. CAMPBELL: I would like for you all to look into that because I think you will find that it is something that you can get some information from, and it may be very valuable to you in your work.

Mr. GALLEGOS: Is this going to be expanded in other counties?

Mr. CAMPBELL: We don't know. It is a pilot program.

Mr. LAUREL: Just one question.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. LAUREL: You mentioned Sandoval County in New Mexico having it, also.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Yes.

Mr. LAUREL: What is the county seat involved there, would you know?

Mr. CAMPBELL: It is a rural area.

Mr. HENDERSON: Bernalillo is the county seat.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

Mr. HENDERSON: Mr. Henry Gonzalos, he is the P and I man and director.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Mr. Campbell, one other thing, maybe one of your assistants would answer this. Does one year, having to plan one year at a time, has that affected your program adversely in terms of long-range planning?

Mr. CAMPBELL: I don't think it could be any other way; but what is being developed in these three places, I am sure, will get recognition.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: You have planned a good program?

Mr. CAMPBELL: Yes.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Notwithstanding you have a 1-year agreement?

Mr. CAMPBELL: Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. You have been a great help to our program.

Our next appointment is with Mr. George McLean, Community Development Foundation of Tupelo, Miss.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE MC LEAN

Mr. McLean, we welcome you.

Mr. McLEAN: Dr. Hutchins, I appreciate the opportunity of being here before this Commission.

You folks have been working pretty hard today and we are getting down toward the close of the day. The director gave me 15 minutes, and I am going to read basically so I'll be sure not to get that bald-headed fellow to hit this one and I want to be sure to stay in the time he has allotted.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE MC LEAN

Mr. McLEAN: I am a country newspaper man. That's several echelons below this country banker, Will Campbell, that's just been here. I bought a bankrupt newspaper from a bankrupt bank in 1934. That's about as low down as you can get, particularly if you start in Mississippi, so that I think we can talk poverty from the shoulder and grassroots level here, not from some theoretical or regional point of view.

When I got this call from Washington, I called together a group of our leaders in the rural field and asked them to come in and help me evaluate the existing programs and make suggestions, and so I am transmitting largely the result of a group's thinking, not just my own personal opinion.

The most significant fact that we found is the fact that most people in both town and country, including professional workers in agencies represented on the President's Committee, do not realize the extent and the depths of the poverty existing even in our county, which is a prosperous area.

I am going to take just 4 or 5 minutes to document what I am talking about—a prosperous country hill area of Mississippi. The rural area around Tupelo and Lee County comprises one of the leading self-help areas of the nation. It pioneered in locally financed concrete roads and drainage canals, the first in the South, and in diversified farm programs under the direction of professional agriculturists paid by local private institutions.

It was one of the pioneers in the rural community development program and was used by the then Under Secretary of Agriculture, True D. Morse, as a pattern for the USDA rural community development program under the Eisenhower administration.

In addition to agricultural development, the businessmen of Tupelo long ago assumed responsibility for providing industrial jobs for the people of this area. This started back in 1900. We did not wait for the Federal Government to wake up to the needs. We had oil mills, fertilizer plants, cotton mills. It was later expanded to include garment manufacturing, metalworking, power tools, tires, plastics, furniture, and many other products. Our people have never relied on outsiders, whether it is the State Capital or the National Capital, to build our community. We have always assumed that responsibility and have done our full part while being completely cooperative with outside institutions or agencies.

Probably the most potent illustration of this is to be found in the work of the Community Development Foundation of Tupelo and its related rural community development councils. This organization was started in 1948 when local businessmen decided they needed to more effectively serve the people of our area, so they did away with and abolished the old chamber of commerce and started an organization to serve the needs of all people, rural and urban, white and colored, in our area. Today more than 400 local businessmen invest more than $93,000 a year to help our rural people help themselves, not only on the farm but also to provide new jobs in industry and to help prepare our people for these jobs through vocational and other educational programs. The whole purpose of the Community Development Foundation is to do everything humanly possible to help our people help themselves economically, educationally, socially, and spiritually. Visitors from all parts of American and many foreign countries have come to see this program based on private initiative at work for the common good.

In addition to the funds spent each year by businessmen, we have worked in closest possible cooperation with county and municipal officials; and they have done their full part to supplement these efforts.

Few, if any, rural communities in this nation have ever better mobilized their time, talents, and money to help meet the needs of the people of their particular area. For example: in 1950 Lee County had approximately 2,100 industrial employees. Last year we had 8,000 industrial employees. As the number of farms in our county dropped during the same period from 5,000 to 1,400, our friends and neighbors who live in the rural areas could find work at home. They did not have to go to Chicago or Detroit, not even to Memphis, to make a living. In the last 16 years Lee County's payrolls, covered under the Employment Security Commission, jumped from less than $8 million a year to over $48 million a year.

The Tupelo area has differed from many others in that it has always fully cooperated with every Federal program for which it was eligible. This includes agriculture, health, highways, and education. In addition, Tupelo was the first TVA city and served as the TVA demonstration city. They didn't mention that, that Mississippi was a part of it. These dumbbells up here in Tennessee didn't have sense enough to take advantage of it. We had to show them it was worthwhile. We have one of the largest watershed programs in the Nation.

Our OEO poverty program was initiated by local businessmen through the Community Development Foundation. Local business and civic leaders, with the fullest possible ratio of cooperation, worked to continue these programs. We have NYC, Headstart, Child Development (which is year-round Headstart), and many other things.

The first urban renewal program in Mississippi was started in Tupelo. One of the first manpower development and training classes in our State was started in our city. Under the leadership of local citizens, a vocational-technical center was established. In the field of health, our community hospital in a town of about 21,000 or 22,000 has about 400 beds and serves a wide rural area. Our rehabilitation center gives free service to the people of 12 counties and covers physical, speech, and occupational therapy. We have just levied local taxes for a mental retardation and mental health center that will serve many rural people throughout northeast Mississippi. We have allied industries that train handicapped people for later employment in private industries.

I think that's sufficient to convince you that the people in Tupelo and around Tupelo have done a good job of trying to meet their own problems. Yet, our leader will be the first to say we have not solved the problems of really poverty-stricken people. Many people, people of good will, throughout this nation would say, "I don't know any really poor people. There may be some shiftless people who are unwilling to work, but anyone can get a job who wants one."

Such a statement is simply not true. Literally thousands of people in every Southern State have been left without jobs and with little hope because farm mechanization has come so quickly. It is absurd to think that a person who cannot read or write, or can barely do so, and who has no salable skill, can just go out and get a job. The only jobs he knows are gone. He does not even know about many of the agencies set up in the towns and cities in order to help him. He was underemployed while working on the farm. Now he is constantly unemployed except on those rare days when he gets the opportunity to do occasional jobs required on farms that are becoming increasingly mechanized. After repeated calls at the employment office and asking everybody he knows for a job, he sinks more and more into the poverty group and exists, barely exists, on Government commodities, charity, and very occasional poorly paid, short-lived jobs. This person, the greatest resource that we have, becomes physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually eroded. He becomes detached from his church and his community. His children are usually not in school, for they do not have the minimum clothes and food. Most of all, they lack the parental pressure to succeed. When they start to school, it is easier to become a dropout than it is to keep up with the children who are far more privileged.

One of the workers in an old-line agency, a person who has served with great distinction in our county for many years, frankly admitted that sleep was impossible after actually going into the homes of a very large number of the poor, recently when we had this meeting. These people are made in the image of God, people with potential being eroded away because they are caught in a web of poverty from which only a few can escape unless they are given three things: First, basic education; second, vocational education; third, job opportunities.

We, therefore, recommend the following:

(1) We must fully realize the problem, become aware of it with our minds, be emotionally disturbed by our observations, and then determine to do something about it.

(2) We must concentrate on people and their specific needs, not on the abstract poverty problem. It has been my observation over many years of active participation in programs designed to solve problems in our community that far too often we aid the most capable and alert people and neglect those whose need is most acute. Let me use an illustration about an agency for which I have the very highest regard. Far too often our farm agencies work with the upper 50 percent in terms of ability, desire, and capital, and neglect the lowest 25 percent.

I realize that my friends in farm agencies will criticize this statement, and I am not saying that it is true in every case, but by and large, when a program is announced, the most progressive and best endowed people will hear about it and take full advantage of it. These progressive farm people will largely monopolize the time of the farm agency workers. Even those agencies specifically set aside to serve the interests of the lower income farmers do not reach the bottom 25 percent, and this is where the poverty problem really exists. These people do not have those basic skills which can only come from education, vocational training, and work experience. A few people or families can overcome this lack of education or experience, but they are the rare exception rather than the general rule.

(3) Local people and local institutions must provide job training, job experience, and job opportunities suited to the needs of the poorest people. Now, that's the thing that my community has done with an additional 6,000 jobs since 1950. Such job training is expensive, and the various Government agencies must assist local leaders to the fullest with staff and with funds. Until the people in local communities recognize their obligation to help provide jobs and job training for their disadvantaged neighbors, and the Government, our Government, actively supports this specific work, we will not markedly reduce rural or urban poverty. The poor can be trained and given jobs at far less cost and far better in rural areas where they are persons in their own right than in big cities where they become statistics.

By jobs at the local level we mean, first, jobs in private enterprise. However, we also include employment and training in Government agencies, schools, hospitals, and so forth. The primary goal of training must be to move as many people as possible into normal channels of employment, but there is every reason to think it is far better for the individual and for society if even those who cannot hold jobs in private employment are still expected to make some work contribution in return for their Government check. Taking training in basic education, family planning, or vocational training should be considered a work contribution. Also, since it is essential that careful surveys be made to locate and learn about each poor family, there is every reason to think that people now on this level can, with proper training, help locate their poor neighbors and bring them to the neighborhood or central office rather than having a trained social worker spend time riding rural roads. There is enough good will and ability in rural communities—rural and small town churches and civic groups—to get much of this work done for the cost of transportation, provided each county is broken down into small neighborhoods and properly organized for this purpose.

(4) We recommend, and I'm sure it is very pointed, and I hope the message gets to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Department of Labor and so forth, we recommend that the eight agencies represented on the President's Committee on Rural Poverty redirect some of their personnel and their funds to meet the needs of the specific people caught in this poverty web. We make this recommendation because this is something that can be done now. The Committee does not have to await new recommendations and new funds before it can go into action. It doesn't even have to wait on your recommendations. A community may need a new fire chief, a new fire engine, and a new fire house, but when fire is discovered, the old engine and the old fire chief are sent out to do the best they can while hoping for better equipment in the future.

(5) Demonstration counties or demonstration rural areas are needed just as much as demonstration cities, and that's what Mr. Campbell was talking about, but there are only three in America. If we do not provide this type of situation, people will continue to decay, to erode in rural poverty, or will depart to add to the increasing problems of your urban ghettos. Think of the multiplied millions of dollars and the misery that could have been avoided if this Gov-

ernment had done this job when the people were here on the rural farms and the rural areas of our country.

Everyone recognizes that you can have a stockpile of raw materials, a factory full of machinery, and many available workers, including supervisory personnel, but you do not have a successful business turning out the desired products until it is organized and directed toward the specific end of producing such products. At the present time we have nearly everything necessary to do an outstanding job, except the decision to so organize our agencies that they will center their attention on the poor and seek to help them help themselves grow into self-supporting citizens.

This recommendation, if carried out, probably means that in some demonstration counties or demonstration rural areas personnel and funds are going to have to be diverted from existing programs to people and their specific needs. There is going to have to be some bureaucratic head knocking. It will probably mean that the most experienced and capable managers in a given area will be given the authority to weld personnel and funds together to achieve the desired result. Each agency cannot go its separate way and put its own program ahead of people in need. The heads of the agencies represented on this President's Committee can do this job if they make up their minds that this program is essential and if they get the support they need from the various branches of the Government.

(6) Our firm recommendation is that a human resources development program be put into effect to center on helping people who are acutely poor get out of the web of poverty. Those who direct this program should have the clear-cut authority, the inescapable responsibility, for calling on all Government agencies to render services for which they are particularly fitted.

When the local drive of business interests to increase the number of jobs is added to the training programs such as MDTA, vocational-technical, basic education, work experience, NYC, child development centers, and on-the-job training, we feel that the problems of rural poverty can be greatly reduced. But local, State, and national efforts must be coordinated and pointed directly to the solution of these problems. We cannot reduce hard-core rural poverty by halfhearted, indirect means. But there is no limit to what an organized community can do when it centers its concern and concentrates its resources in full cooperation with our Government.

When a progressive rural community has worked as long, as hard, and as systematically as has that around Tupelo, Miss., and still frankly admits that it has not eliminated rural poverty, you can be certain that in the average community conditions are deplorable—despicable is a proper word. Our community wants to work with this Commission in helping to solve our problems of rural poverty.

Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. McLean, that's a very potent statement all the way through and extremely helpful.

Mr. McLEAN: Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we might take just a moment or two for questions.

Mr. NEIL DAVIS: Mr. McLean, how did you go about organizing this group of interested, dedicated people to doing something for yourselves? Did the newspaper take some leadership in this?

Mr. McLean: The newspaper took some; the banks did. Our community has had, since 1900, this type of local initiative at work, and we built on the heritage of what they had in the past and said let's move to new endeavors, and every time we hear of something new or better, we try to adopt it.

Mr. Neil Davis: Through the years have you gotten much help from agencies, well, working out of Mississippi State University, for instance?

Mr. McLean: We work very closely with every agency—State university, the State Capital, the Government, extension, every one that we know anything about. We don't bypass any of them. Some of the things that we have—

Mrs. Caldwell helped us start in our community, and we are doing things that I don't know of any other similar community in the world doing.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: In one of our sessions we had a rather able anthropologist discussing poverty and people and so on, culture, and he made a statement that could have been a little misinterpreted, that indicated that the system—and he said he didn't mean Government when we questioned him—was the thing that was important, more than the people, and he used the term "people." Of course I differ with that, because maybe I didn't understand him in this academic language, but I noticed today that you emphasize concern for people. Do you feel that's somewhat the key to the success there, that you've got to involve people in the problems of people, their plight, wanting to do something about them, and then find a way to do it?

Mr. McLean: We have 27 organized rural communities. Our people in town go out each month and meet with them. We work with them. It is their program; it is their responsibility. But we help them. We are the clearing section to encourage them to do what the Lord has given the opportunity of doing, and I disagree with the anthropologist and the sociologist and so forth when they say that systems are more important than people. You touch the heart of a man or a woman and they have some spark. They can do things to overcome a system. But the trouble with so many of these regional programs—and we are doing our best to get in Appalachia, and we are doing our best to get in all these other things—but, basically, you have got to deal with human action and create that desire inside and encourage and fan the embers.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: There becomes a fundamental motivation?

Mr. McLean: Right.

The Chairman: Mr. McLean, I'd be glad to welcome you to Appalachia.

Mr. McLean: We hope to get in very shortly.

The Chairman: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. Laurel: You presented a very novel idea, I think from this standpoint, that you actually junked the old chamber of commerce in favor of your foundation, and this is something that is novel; this is different. I would like to know a little bit more about it. Your foundation is made up of mostly local people?

Mr. McLean: One hundred percent local.

Mr. Laurel: And what——

Mr. McLean (interrupting): Two things caused us to junk the chamber of commerce. I had been president three times, and it was about dead anyway. We had pushed on this thing, but we were not getting the overall cooperation that we should from some of our leading people. Banks and so forth were not cooperating because they didn't think we were reaching rural people. Neither did our newspaper feel that. Therefore, we wanted to abolish the conception of a business-centered organization, centered primarily with trade days and what we could get for the town. We wanted to embrace an area.

Furthermore, these nuts up in the chamber of commerce on the national level didn't believe in TVA. We started the TVA off; we are proud of it. We just made $300,000 with our local distribution system in Tupelo last year, so we just think it is darn good business to hold on to it, so we said we don't have anything to do with that Republican bunch of highbinders in the Washington Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. **Laurel**: You don't go along with a certain presidential candidate's idea to sell TVA then?

Mr. **McLean**: I thought he was crazy then, and I still do.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Ford.

Mr. **Ford**: Mr. McLean, I think the whole nation has been aware of the longtime efforts of Tupelo in its community development, and for that reason it is particularly distressing, as you point out, to find that you still seem to have some serious problems. Now, I got a sort of gap between your developments and your recommendations for an alleviation of national rural poverty. Specifically in Tupelo or in the Tupelo area, what do you see? Apparently you have tried to tap every possible resource. What has been lacking? Why do you still have these problems when you have knocked yourselves out, so to speak, to try to solve them?

Mr. **McLean**: I think you can very easily—Dr. Hutchins, I'm sure will agree—they have done an awful lot to center attention on West Virginia and that area, and they haven't solved all these problems. You just don't solve them by recognizing them. It is not done overnight. We have been so busy trying to get off of this low mudsill of backwardness and completely rural small farm setup that we had to take time to build a foundation. The superstructure is now in process of being erected, and I would guarantee you that in the next 5 years we'll make more progress than we have in the last 10 or 15. But we have been so busy on these things, that even people who have been working in my community more than 25 years with the people in the rural areas tell me this, that they just could not sleep when they went out there recently and saw these people. They were dealing with the uppercrust of rural people, not with the people who really needed help. This is one of the finest people I know in the world, and most dedicated, but she just had been so busy up here she didn't get down where the lower 25 percent live.

The **Chairman**: Mrs. Caldwell?

Mrs. **Caldwell**: Being from the same State and being very familiar with the wonderful work that they have done in Tupelo, I am still concerned about how do we feed people until we can give them the educational, basic educational, vocational training and job opportunities? You can't learn very much with no food, and how do we solve this problem of the first essential of food and clothing and shelter and warmth?

Mr. **McLean**: Mrs. Caldwell, I'll answer this specifically. One program that the welfare agency has, the work experience program—

You can pay so much for each child and so much for shelter and so forth while they were being trained. The MDTA gives minimum subsistence as well as training. Programs of this type, not just those that are going to train these high workers but those at the lower level, are the ones.

Now, please do not misunderstand what I am saying now. Mr. Stern is a very fine individual and he made a very fine testimony here from the TVA standpoint, but he has been down here a year, he told me as he left here. I have been here 62 years, and I'll tell you our problem here is not how we can get techniques in this high pay people, how in the world we can get somebody who hasn't made over $500, $600 a year, get them a job that will pay them $2,000 a year or $3,000 a year, and you've got to start with the people where they are. Our on-the-job training that we are just inaugurating, we got some money through the Labor Department, and we will train between 400 and 500 people, most of whom will be uneducated, 45 to 65 years of age, to do the jobs that we've got at low pay industries, $1.40 an hour to $1.60 an hour, but that's three to four times what they ever had. And after they have learned and after they have had basic education and working experience, and raised themselves by feeding themselves and their children properly, maybe get a better house, then we can move them up and let them build towers or power tools or something else. But you can't snap your finger and say everybody ought to work for General Electric. General Electric won't even come in our town because we are TVA power.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. McLean.

We have one gentleman whose name is not on our list, Rev. Biddle of Columbus, Ohio. He is field supervisor of the antipoverty town and country department of the Ohio Council of Churches. We are very glad to welcome you, Mr. Biddle, and we are glad to have you make your statement.

Mr. **Biddle**: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to make one comment prior to my reading the statement here, and this being that it is not—the statement itself is not—as full as I would like to have had it, inasmuch as I had been misinformed in the kind of a statement I was to make and testimony that I was to make. If there are questions following, I would be happy to try to answer them.

STATEMENT OF GLENN BIDDLE

Mr. **Biddle**: I am Glenn Biddle, field supervisor for human resource development (antipoverty) project of the Town and Country Department of the Ohio Council of Churches.

We believe that Christians have a clear mandate, rooted in the Scriptures, to stand against the evils of poverty whose allies are hunger, disease, ignorance, and human misery. Therefore, the Town and Country Department of the Ohio Council of Churches is involved in the War on Poverty, cooperating with other organizations and agencies, local and national, in attacking this vice at the grassroots, thus seeking to eliminate this malignant social enemy of men and nations.

The alleviation of poverty and its attendant sufferings and deprivations is both a public and private responsibility at all times, and under all circumstances. In an economy which has developed the capacity to abolish poverty, no lesser goal than its total abolition can satisfy the moral demands of the Christian faith. (The above is a portion of the policy statement on the church and the antipoverty program adopted by the general board of the National Council of Churches, December 3, 1966.)

Human resource development calls for the elimination of poverty. The Town and Country Department of the Ohio Council of Churches recognizes that economic poverty is usually accompanied by various other related evils among which are spiritual deprivation, cultural retardation, and psychic illnesses. Not only must economic poverty be eradicated by an adequate income, but meaning must be given to life and dignity restored to the individual that he may become a person of moral responsibility and a citizen with hope and freedom.

Poverty is a basic concern of the Town and Country Department of the Ohio Council of Churches. Therefore, the human development program seeks to serve as a catalyst in motivating local groups as well as individuals to do the hard work of economic development. It helps interpret the various programs available, mobilize local leadership, is a stimulator for programs and projects which can be successful in helping people to emerge from poverty. Ministers and lay people need training and inspiration in facing the challenge of this important work. Project personnel are working with denominational leaders, churches, church groups, rural agencies, and individuals at all levels because of their relationship to these various groups. Cooperation and work is carried out with the technicians and personnel of the Office of Economic Opportunity, community action committees, and other specialists in this field by helping to stimulate projects which will be beneficial in raising the income of people through county, community and area resource development committees, community action committees, and The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, et cetera.

The effective involvement of the poor in the community-wide and local assistance programs is the creation of a supporting atmosphere that gives assurance and confidence to the underprivileged, that they may be able to emerge from their chains of poverty. Grassroots programs are encouraged which strengthen the economy by providing job opportunities through new industries, development of tourism, recreational facilities, and services for people. Work is being carried out to set up manpower technical training schools and/or classes for training and/or retraining of adults, thus preparing them for the labor market. Promotion of Headstart and NYC programs along with the establishing of health clinics, community centers, and placing of VISTA workers in pockets of poverty, et cetera, are essential in meeting human need as well as breaking the cycle of poverty for thousands of poverty captives.

The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was a milestone in the history of mankind, as it sought to improve the economic well-being and prosperity of the United States by seeking to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

We commend the Congress for the action taken, and encourage the

Office of Economic Opportunity to continue its effort to embody the concept in actual structures and programs in the field.

We believe that the Congress of the United States, and such other authorities who may have power over the budget for this program, and all others involved in waging the War on Poverty, should increase the amounts of money made available to carry out the intent of Congress as set forth in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, rather than reduce it as is being called for by some.

The call for affirmative action is clear and sharp, the cries of those who are captives to poverty should serve only to underscore the need for responsible action.

The elimination of funds or the reduction of them, which will affect action programs at the grassroots level, is but to take a step backward by our Government in meeting its responsibility to human need. Likewise, it would seem that a time bomb is being planted in both rural and urban slums, which will explode if the real problems are not met as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and other programs of a similar nature are not carried out to the fullest.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you for coming. I realize Columbus, Ohio, is some little distance away.

On our list of witnesses, Mr. McKnight, I believe, is unable to be here, and then Mr. Edward L. Angus is here, I believe, from the Department of Political Science at Memphis State University.

We welcome you, Mr. Angus. I am glad it was possible for you to come a little ahead of your appointed hour because we have been here quite a long time today.

Mr. ANGUS: I appreciate that. I made some arrangements to come early as I noticed you were a little ahead when I was here earlier.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD L. ANGUS

Mr. ANGUS: First of all, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you and comment some on the basis of my experience and while I realize I probably look more like a student than perhaps a teacher at Memphis State, some background perhaps is in order.

Two years ago I was a staff member in the Department of Finance and Administration in the State government in Tennessee. Shortly thereafter, of course, the Economic Opportunity Act was passed, and I began to get more and more involved in the initial phases of inauguration of programs in this State under the auspices of the EOA. I was in Tennessee until August of '65. At that time I returned to Pennsylvania State University, where I am also a doctoral candidate as a member of the Institute of Political Administration, where I was a research assistant to a project with a western Pennsylvania community in Fayette County, which was a sort of a rural nonfarm community, sort of southwest of Pittsburgh.

In addition, of course, I have maintained some academic and scholarly interest in problems of the poor, and it is on the basis of all these various experiences that I am trying to put together some comments and observations.

To begin, I think perhaps to restate some statistics which I am sure have been restated a number of times already, but I think it is timely to recall that about 4½ million rural people have incomes under $3,000, and these represent nearly 45 percent of all persons considered impoverished, and about 27 percent of all rural people. These statistics reflect the cause for concern by many of the plight of the rural poor. In the same vein, observations have undoubtedly been made concerning the efficacy of various economic measures of impoverishment in rural America.

Whether the rural poor are in relatively better or worse economic conditions than the urban poor is, I think, a moot point. The poor educational and health facilities, the critical shortage of employment opportunities, and the relative isolation of the rural poor from the remainder of the society, however, are important factors which must also be considered in addition to the low levels of income in discussing the problems of the rural disadvantaged, vis-à-vis those in urban areas.

My concern here today is that underlying these generally complex multiple problems of the rural poor, and intertwined with them, there are several specific problems, ones which probably can easily be identified and, as such, often suggest their own solution.

First, there is the lack in generally every rural county of leadership at trained and knowledgeable level, of administrative personnel, of people merely capable of seeing where to move and knowing how to begin. Very closely tied to this is the lack of information. In rural areas everywhere, concerned and sincere people meet and talk and agree that something must be done, but no one knows what, no one knows who can help, and frequently no one even knows how to find out.

One of the fundamental deficiencies, I feel, of rural America, therefore, quite simply stated, is its shortage of information and sophisticated know-how. When the United States deals with an underdeveloped Asian or African nation, it expects this shortage, or perhaps even total lack of information and know-how, and I think we are prepared to cope with this in our foreign aid programs and foreign development programs. I think it is obvious, however, that none of the existing Federal legislation dealing with the general problem of economic development is concerned with this shortage of leadership and information. Yet I think it is equally obvious that we must become prepared to cope with the identical lack of information and leadership in the mountain counties of West Virginia, the delta counties of Mississippi, or one of neighboring rural counties in Tennessee.

Rather wrongly, I think, this whole problem was made even more pressing with the passage of several pieces of legislation by recent Congresses, for example, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Appalachia Regional Development Act, and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of '65.

Considering just the EOA, the essence of this legislation may be summarized in its commitment to local initiative, involvement, and action. While offering unprecedented opportunities, it poses a rather critical test, that test being: Can a local community discover its own needs, articulate them in a meaningful way through proposed solutions, and finally, adequately organize itself to achieve these purposes. If communities cannot achieve this, the War on Poverty will not reach its goals, regardless of what wonders Federal aid may accomplish in the short run. If the appropriate community subsistence and the poor are not involved in the economic development of the community, the community, per se, remains helpless in the midst of these new and perhaps unprecedented opportunities. The fact is, I think, of course, that even the short-run wonders of Federal aid have not really reached the rural poor as of yet.

With nearly half the Nation's poor in the rural areas—and when one excludes Operation Headstart and the NYC funds, data I have at my access indicate that far less than half of the funds allocated have been awarded to rural community action programs. Briefly, before I came in tonight, someone told me that about 8 percent of the total funds allocated in the War on Poverty alone have been allocated to rural areas. The rest has gone to urban programs.

What programs seem effective at this point in the rural area—and here again I must equate perhaps popularity with effectiveness, and at the same time perhaps raise a rhetorical question of how does one measure effectiveness under these circumstances, that is, how do you measure whether a program is effective or not and what measures do you use. I think the Nelson amendment, particularly beautification-type projects and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, are the most active programs. Ironically both are types of programs which can employ—and I emphasize employ—considerable numbers of people, but seldom train—and I emphasize the word "train"—those employed to find permanent employment upon leaving the project. Few prevocational and on-the-job training projects have been funded in rural areas. Similarly, multiservice agencies, homemaker services, employment counseling, day care, and rural housing are rhetorically low priority items within Federal agencies concerned.

In the other and related programs, standards and our limitations are such that few rural areas are eligible. I think an example of this is the Federal Housing Act, Section 502, which makes self-help loans available to farmworkers, but they must reside in communities of 55,000 or more, or 5,500, excuse me, or more population. One is, therefore, led to ask whether those in isolated rural areas are less deserving of these programs, or if there is less urgency to fulfill their needs than those residing in the urban communities.

I think intimately connected with this is the prevalent misconception of what we, as a society, are trying to accomplish in these economic development programs. I don't think many of the impoverished immediately aspire to becoming members of the middle class. They do, however, desire to participate in the local decision-making process, and indeed they must be involved, which attempts to cope with their problems. Having been misled and/or deceived through numerous other public pronouncements, is it any wonder that the disadvantaged are skeptical, wary, and indeed frequently hostile to this new war. What benefit comes of a Headstart program which culminates in the enrollment of a child in a wholly inferior school system and/or one organized along traditional middle-class guidelines, that is, of sending a child upon completion of high school to college? How realistic is this to a youngster now experiencing rural poverty?

I do not even mean to infer here that the disadvantaged don't want to change or improve their circumstances, but what they want at this time is a share of the decision-making processes concerned with these problems. They don't want to be told again what's best for them, and, of course, that value judgment being made through middle-class perspectives.

At the same time, however, participation is more than one-third of a local governing body of a community action agency, being poor people or their representatives. How many of these people are going to debate or even question the opinions—and frequently I would say decisions having already been made—of the local power structure, that is, the judges and the mayors, the superintendent of schools, the welfare director, and the ministers? Even if these individuals truly are representatives of the poor, and it is my opinion that most such representatives serve by appointment of the above-mentioned power structure, the delicate balance of their daily existence does not allow possible alienation of this politically powerful view. Yet the implications of the dominant values go much further. While I do not propose to presume as to generalize the findings of a single study to all the rural impoverished, I do think a study which I am about to mention has meaningful implications, as well as indicates the urgent need for further examination of the value system of the impoverished.

A sociologist at the University of Kentucky several years ago made an extensive study in several eastern Kentucky counties. Prof. Al Malcom indicated that the eastern Kentuckians rated family and kin, religion, and work, in that order of importance. Actually, family and kin as a value is almost 40 times as important as work as a value. On the same scale, religion is six times as important as work. Work in these people's eyes has relatively no importance.

Other sociologists have given work and activity, science and secularism as some of the major value orientations of American society. Work, of course, is associated with achievement and success, which are also major American values. More germane, however, these other studies did not even list family as a major value. The point to be made here is that eastern Kentuckians seemed to be participating in a value system somewhat counter to the general American society.

What implications has this for a full approach of traditional programs? It seems to me that most of the programs designed to aid the impoverished today are occupation oriented. Is it realistic, therefore, to train the rural impoverished for occupations which require residential relocation in light of strong family and kin ties which affect the willingness of the individual to move to another area? Further analysis indicated that the households being in dire need were also low in household aspiration, education, and social participation. Among these, and the most important factor, seemed to be the homemaker's education. This created in them discontent, which plus the homemaker's social participation perhaps creates enough of a positive attitude toward job mobility, with a concomitant increase in household aspiration, is apt to make the household attempt to move out of poverty.

I think these findings of this study reenforce what I have earlier stated, that leadership and involvement are two of the most critical values in the local response to economic development. How many programs are aimed at the rural homemaker? How much attention has been given to development of outside-of-the-home group participation, or to phrase it in another way, to what extent have the poor themselves been mobilized? On the basis of my experience and knowledge, the answer quite frankly is very simple: Very, very little.

In three counties in this State of Tennessee in which I would consider some mobilization to have occurred, it has resulted from two very different pressures— The pressure of civil rights activities, which in themselves are mobilizing events and as such are transferable to economic development programs being won. The other pressure is a high concentration of well-educated professionals, basically scientists and educators, in a certain county who have undertaken the task of, I would say, saving the poor. This second group comprises all the traditional trappings of what we would normally categorize as "do-gooders." While I personally suspect some of their goals, the fact remains that they are beginning to organize the areas impoverished, or perhaps the impoverished are organizing to save themselves. I'm not quite sure which is the case.

Some fairly successful attempts are being made in urban areas to organize the poor, but in the rural areas the situation is quite the reverse. Few attempts are being made to foster genuine neighborhood organizations. The reasoning goes back to the nature of most organizations thus far established, control by the local power elite, particularly the political elite. There is little chance of these organizations fostering rival groups or awakening the poor and/or the minorities to the political potential of having local organizations. Organizations which are able to represent and speak for the impoverished and have power of some type in advance in order to be heard are few in number. It is perhaps too harsh to state that mobilization attempts have been squashed. A more accurate generalization would be that such activities simply haven't occurred in most rural areas. I don't think we can hope to effectively involve the impoverished by simply expanding their numbers on the governing boards and agencies. The elite will maintain control directly or otherwise. If, however, genuine neighborhood organizations are fostered, and representatives of these groups are seated on community agencies, then real progress can be begun to be made.

It is predictable that these agencies, with this type of involvement, will make unwise decisions in relation to the talents and funds available. Yet, the long-range success of such agencies, I feel, is more predictable than those now in existence. The important and crucial difference is that the impoverished know their plight, their values, and their aspirations. They probably have a much more realistic view of these than any of their so-called representatives— the elite and the "concerned" middle class.

The extensive involvement of the poor and the translation of their views into programs designed to assist them must be the new rationale for community economic development activities. Without this type of affirmation by those involved—and I think at all levels, local, State, and Federal—in such development activities I don't think that expenditures of very large sums of money, much more so than currently available, will begin to even alleviate the problem of rural poverty.

At this point, and I have other recommendations towards the end of my presentation, three thoughts really come to mind which relate back to this:

One, and perhaps this sounds a bit militant in days in which military is somewhat shied away from, but perhaps we ought to give more thought and consideration to development of genuine community organizers, simply the same types of people that the civil rights movement has used in the last decade, people who will go out into the rural areas and do nothing else but actively seek to organize the poor into meaningful and powerful—in the perspective of political power—organizations.

Perhaps given recent trends, politically speaking, the concern of some in direction of civil rights activities which tend to rock the boat, this might be disguised, if one would care to use that type of term, in some form of cooperatives, be they rural farm cooperatives, cooperatives of domestics, I don't really care what classification or groupings you call, but maybe this provides some type of central focus in which you get these low income people together in some meaningful way. It perhaps is a little too sophisticated to say "Well, we'll send community organizers out into the rural areas, and on the basis of just saying let's get together in numbers and we've got some power." Perhaps it might be more realistic to say to the rural residents "Let's get together for a buying cooperative;" to domestics maybe in urban areas, "Let's get together and do something about low wages," under the guise, if you will, of a cooperative movement.

I think, thirdly, related to all this, and I feel very strongly on this latter point, is that I would like to see—since I don't think new Federal legislation is going to be passed or totally new legislation similar to the EOA or Appalachia Act—riders attached to Federal legislation, perhaps such as public works programs, which would require certain percentages of workers to be employed on sewage projects or rural water systems, a certain percentage of these workers to be members of the local poor, whether it is 10, 15, 20, 25 percent. It seems a little ridiculous to me that we stand on one hand with a number of Federal programs proposing to eliminate rural poverty, to develop economically the area, and as one of these activities we develop a municipal or a local waterworks. The contract is let, the contractor brings in the construction people. He doesn't hire the local people. In many areas I know of, in eastern Tennessee, where these types of activities are taking place, through Appalachia, the labor is being imported into the area, an area which has a vast reservoir of unemployed persons, and I would maintain that this agency might give serious consideration to looking at some type of rider or amendment to existing Federal legislation requiring certain percentages of those workers employed be members of the local poor.

At this point I would like to change perspectives a moment and discuss some of the structural functional problems of current programs. One of the obvious problems with respect to operation of economic development activities is the almost total lack of coordination and cooperation. By this I mean more than a signoff or cursory coordination of programs. At all levels there is concern with other agencies' programs, but not in the sense of coordination of efforts, rather with presumed invasion, a preempted territory and projects, combined with multiple agencies involved, and the existence of many different area arrangements for each agency and program, the lack of coordination and cooperation is magnified. The entire range of Government is guilty, from the local agency to the regional agencies of the Federal departments.

In an endeavor such as area economic development, adequate attention must be given to the coordination of the efforts of the various agencies involved. Coordination means focusing attention on an interrelation of the various activities to the entire program with adequate concern to insure that each activity is administered in accordance with overall stated goals. Thus, instead of the general schematic approach of lines of authority and responsibility being the central concern, coordination is concerned with efforts made horizontally, cutting across multipurpose activities at various levels in the several hierarchies, so that all activities are related and maximum utilization of the resources invested is achieved.

At the current time, when increasingly menacing attacks are being made on development activities on the domestic scene, activities of concern to this Commission, it would appear that renewed attention must be given to further coordination of these activities. In the event of irresponsible reductions of Federal aid to these activities, and statements which can only be interpreted as such have increasingly been made in the recent months, the obvious need for greater coordination and cooperation at all levels is imperative. At the present time, however, there simply is not adequate coordination of developmental activities. With the multitude of Federal, State, and local governmental agencies involved, not to mention the many private agencies active in these endeavors, there is even greater need for coordinating activities. The situation is more critical in the rural areas, due principally to the nature of the existing governmental system in a typical rural county. The structure basically is fragmented, giving rise to competing agencies, funding arrangements, and citizens groups; and it usually lacks the means in the form of a single principal official to achieve local coordination.

With each independent agency on the local level, the position is enhanced by the support of similarly constructed State, regional, and/or Federal agencies. Furthermore, few of these agencies are concerned with involving persons outside of their clientele group and evaluating programs and/or assigning priorities for their implementation. Thus the various subsystems—education, health, welfare, employment, any number of others—each go their own route with little, if any, concern to what decisions and activities are taking place within the other systems and subsystems of the local community. Though much has been said to date, little coordination of activities has actually taken place.

Combined with the earlier stated problems of the lack of involvement, leadership, and funds in the rural areas, it would appear that immediate attention must be given to this problem.

Realizing it is always easier to criticize than to offer alternatives, I have been tempted to indicate several of my concerns and present these not so much as recommendations but as areas to which this Commission and others concerned should give further attention.

First, there is apparently a rather substantial knowledge gap at the local rural level of information concerning developmental

137

activities. Local residents simply are unaware of the agencies and programs which are concerned with resource development. Reflective of the fragmented structure of competing interests, of the relative isolation and lack of community mobilization, or even involvement, it is perhaps understandable why so few perhaps have been implemented in the rural areas and fewer still have achieved even the most modest goals. Call it what one will, it is evident that a more intensive "selling" job must be done in the rural areas, solely for the purpose of making the residents therein aware of the various programs available.

Secondly, and closely related to the above, is the failure that any substantial mobilization is involved. While the central concern is not specifically the involvement of the poor, there has been little effective involvement of those outside the existing community power structure. If the poor have been involved, it has been under the control of the local powers.

Even though these are days in which honest examination tends to alienate certain segments and classes of our society, it must be said that unless the poor are effectively organized and involved in developmental programs, there is scant hope for any major alleviation of current problems. As the civil rights activities have indicated, until the impoverished are organized in such numbers that their demands carry threats of consequence in the political sector, they will continue to be manipulated and placated without real change in their day-to-day existence. Changing the ratio of representatives of the poor on committees and advisory boards will not alter the present situation. The impoverished must know about the various programs and be genuinely involved in the decision-making processes of determining local plans and participation in their operation. There should be person-to-person contact fostered between the administrative personnel and the impoverished citizens on a coequal basis rather than the existing benevolent or condescending attitudes of so many agency personnel.

Third, there is substantial reason to believe, although admittedly difficult as of yet to verify empirically, that more concern should be given to some sort of leadership training in the rural areas. It has been increasingly evident that one of the problems connected with outmigration of rural residents to other areas, frequently urban, is that the pool of potential leaders is severely reduced. Those remaining are concerned but unable to organize and articulate their concerns into viable programmatic goals. It is not clear at this time whether the problem can be dealt with by any simple citizenship or training schools, or by more sophisticated leadership recruitment and development activities. An earlier statement is reiterated, however, on the basis of my knowledge and involvement with developmental programs and activities: Effective programs were more often those in which there was involvement of leaders, both within the community as well as manifested in capable program administrative personnel.

I would add at this point that better qualified personnel need to be recruited on the local level if programs are to be successful. This problem is more apparent in the rural areas, precisely where the greatest need exists for personnel with ability and vision to develop realistic programs and successfully coordinate local activities for the maximum possible utilization of the resources invested.

Fourth, at the same time that there is need for more competent personnel on the local level, it is equally incumbent that the respective States develop more qualified staffs. At this point the various States should be undertaking a larger role in developmental activities. This includes sizable allocation of funds, as well as the development of highly competent staffs to provide technical and financial assistance to local areas.

I might add here that, to my knowledge, the State of Tennessee is one of the very few that has developed a very large—a 10-member technical assistance staff which has as its basic duty going out into all the areas of this State to work with local agencies in developing and helping these people to articulate their desires into some type of viable program or, at least, proposals.

States must realize that it is difficult for rural areas particularly to develop very extensive staffing arrangements as well as a means for financial assistance. It is dubious that many rural areas can appreciably alter present revenue sources—impoverished areas, particularly.

Combined with the relatively minor allocation of Federal funds to rural programs, the States must stand their role as financiers of rural development programs if any development activities are going to take place in the rural areas.

Fifth, closely related to the above, perhaps more attention should be given to the coordination of activities and agencies in a formal structural sense. On the State scene, this might involve creation of three coordinating agencies. At the top of this new hierarchy would be a form of State advisory commission. Such an organization might function much as this National Advisory Commission and have representatives of a cross-section of the respective State. The State advisory organization might be an agency concerned with the coordination of overall policy and programs.

Representatives of the various agencies, both Federal and State, would periodically meet to consider coordination of their respective agencies' activities with others in operation or with those being proposed, in addition to establishing general policy recommendations and goals for all those involved.

Finally, there might be a third organization composed of various supervisory personnel and technicians who are daily involved in the developmental activities. Through such an organization, coordination of the activities of the various agency personnel might be achieved for the maximum utilization of existing technical staff and the benefit of local areas concerned. Available technical assistance is frequently employed at cross-purposes on the local level, and many insufficient allocations of funds to numerous programs do not add up to viable programs.

Some consideration might also be given to the development of regional organizations, such as that established in the Appalachian Regional Development Act, whereby the States would play a larger role in determining what types of programs were to be funded within their respective borders. I would not favor at this time giving the States exclusive control over the allocation of developmental funds. However, with reference to the previous statements expressing concern over the lack of coordination of the various programs, there appears to be merit in further consideration.

If the States are willing to become more responsive and responsible partners in developmental activities, it would seem justifiable for them to have an expanded role in determining the types and scope of programs undertaken.

The above are all problems which should be carefully considered, hopefully by the various States and agencies as well as this Commission. While the implications of this Commission and this regional meeting are many, one is not remiss, I hope, with a concluding statement that here in the South the problems on which I, as well as the others appearing here, have commented, are even more pressing.

More than half of those experiencing rural poverty are found in the South. According to a recently released report, all but 3 of the 250 counties in which rural families had the lowest median income in 1959 were in the 14 southern and border States. If any section of the Nation— If any public official or private citizen should be concerned with the plight of the rural impoverished citizen, we here in the South should be in the forefront of those seeking new and better ways of combating rural poverty. We have too long ignored the restraints on our regional economies caused by the separate but certainly linked effects of discrimination and impoverishment. The results of the former are known but not really understood, and thus continue to exist. Surely we can't wait another hundred years to begin to seriously implement and evaluate new methods for assisting the millions of impoverished rural southerners.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. Angus. That is a very, very excellent and quite complete statement on some of the problems we are facing.

Do any of the Commissioners have questions they would like to address?

Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Of course that presentation requires some time to digest, and I don't presume to have done it, because it is rather challenging and provocative; but I wanted to be sure I interpreted you correctly, and I want you to restate this so I will get it right. I got the impression that you are thinking in terms of the disadvantaged people in the communities being organized among themselves?

Mr. **Angus**: That's correct.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: With someone who has the sophistication necessary to mobilize them, and then once they are organized they become a pressure group for one thing?

Mr. **Angus**: If nothing else.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: If nothing else, but they would also, at the same time, have representation on these other committees if they still exist, so that they would have two types of representation— their own organization which could always stand there as a kind of a threat as a pressure group, and they would have participation in these formalized groups that have responsibility for formulating programs and plans?

Mr. **Angus**: That's precisely what I am proposing. I think that only through this type of organization— It is, I think, apparent at this point that we have talked a great deal about mobilization of the poor, but it simply hasn't occurred. There hasn't been sufficient concern by those involved of really getting out and getting responsible people from the poorer segments of the community involved in these activities.

When poor or minority groups are represented on a community action agency, to use the War on Poverty as a specific example, yes, a certain percentage of these people are poor, they are Negro or Puerto Ricans, whatever the case may be, but I maintain that very few of these are independent actors, that more likely they are political appointments. I hate to use the word "stooges" or "Uncle Toms," but in my own experience in this State all too frequently these were the types of people who ended up on the community action program, that is, the community action agency which made the final determinations. These people weren't representatives of the poor, they weren't representatives of the Negro community.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like you to meet some of the Appalachian mountaineers who were neither stooges nor representatives of anybody except themselves in their group.

Mr. Gibson.

Mr. GIBSON: I wanted to ask something about a specific reference you made to the Tennessee State technical assistance office. Ten members is certainly an impressive number, and you said they did give resource to the different groups?

Mr. ANGUS: That is correct.

Mr. GIBSON: Have they been at all involved in assisting the community organization, assisting?

Mr. ANGUS: Do you mean by mobilizing the poor?

Mr. GIBSON: Yes.

Mr. ANGUS: Quite frankly, I would say that no, we haven't been, or we weren't when I was involved, and I would say that they are not really now. Again this perhaps reflects more of the nature of the political system.

Mr. GIBSON: I find it very interesting—I wanted to ask that of somebody who had knowledge of the State technical assistance programs. I find it very interesting, for instance, that in the State of Oregon, or rather in Washington State and Oregon, and I think in some of the southwestern States, they have something they call a grassroots program which is in order to foster organization among the dispersed rural poor, something which I think would be considered simply dangerous here in the Southeast.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: One other thing, if I could just say this. I get the feeling that you have concluded—and I am not arguing the point, but trying to interpret—that the power structure, that's the term that's been used, is indifferent or resistive to change in the status of poor people. Second, that there is very little leadership ability, or if there is, it is so unsophisticated it can't be effective in the poor and disadvantaged. Of course, I differ there a little bit because there are people who are natural leaders of every community.

Mr. ANGUS: I agree. I maintain these aren't the people who have gotten involved or have been involved by the power structure.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: But this person who comes down to direct and mobilize this action, we also have to assume that is about a perfect individual, both in motive and so on, and that the poor are always right. You see, I mean we get in a dangerous situation, and I am not trying to argue, but that we must give a lot of thought and consideration to a proposal where we have to assume the perfection of the individual who leads and mobilizes and directs these people, that the people themselves are without human fallacy.

Mr. ANGUS: I would propose, however, I'd like to see this tried. Granted we are going to make some mistakes. We have made some mistakes. I think in an affluent society like the United States is, we can afford to make a few mistakes and explore some of these possibilities.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: You'd be willing to do it on a pilot basis if nothing else?

Mr. ANGUS: Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Angus, for coming. We have one witness who we have gotten out of order but very welcome. Rev. A. J. McKnight, Southern Consumers' Co-operative of Lafayette, La., has arrived, so we welcome Mr. McKnight, please.

Fr. MCKNIGHT: I think many of my statements will probably just reecho the sentiments of the previous speaker.

STATEMENT OF A. J. MC KNIGHT

Fr. MCKNIGHT: The problems of the poor in many instances are not purely economic, even though economics are intimately interwoven with them. In most of the South we are actually dealing with an undeveloped people, many of whom have developed a culture of poverty and suffer from a poverty of culture.

We talk about undeveloped nations. Well, today in our Southland we have millions of undeveloped people. They are an undeveloped people because they have been systematically excluded from the affairs of the community. All their lives they have lived behind the high barriers of a caste system with a history of slavery and then segregation and discrimination. They bear the mark of oppression and the mark of this segregated system, which is self-hatred, which makes it psychologically impossible for many of them to take advantage of the change of laws which have recently broken the physical shackles of the caste system.

Many of these undeveloped people have developed a culture of poverty. They have been crushed psychologically and brainwashed by the system now trying to help them. Not only are they helpless, apathetic and listless, but their ambitions have been stifled, their spirit killed, and their whole personality suffused with despair, emptiness, and hostility, and to repeat, I guess, something that you have heard already, the hard-core poor are not just middle-class people without money.

There is a cultural chasm between the middle class and the lower class. The poor think differently; they have a differense sense of values. Just to mention a few examples: Take the concept of education. To the middle class, it stands for the road to better things for one's children, and one's self. To the poor it is an obstacle course to be surmounted until the children can go to work. The concept "society" to the middle class stands for the pattern one conforms to in the interest of security and being popular. To the poor it is "the man," an enemy to be resisted and suspected. The concept "future" to the middle class means a rosy horizon. To the poor it is nonexistent; there is no such thing as a future. The concept "money" to the middle class means a resource to be cautiously spent and saved for future. To the poor it is something to be used now before it disappears.

The poor tend to be fatalistic and pessimistic because for them there is no future. Everything is today. They do not postpone satisfactions. When pleasure is available, they tend to take it immediately. They do not save, because for them there is no tomorrow.

The smug theorist of the middle class would probably deplore this as showing a lack of traditional American virtues. Actually, it is the logical and natural reaction of a people living without hope, without a future.

Most Federal programs designed to help the poor are designed and programed by middle-class people with middle-class standards and views, and by failing to consider the cultural chasm which exists, they fail to meet the real needs of the recipients. Many other Federal programs almost seem to be designed purposefully to bypass or eliminate those most in need, or they are administered by people who are not sympathetic or interested or who do not understand the problems of the poor.

The poor, on the other hand, are either in complete ignorance about the programs meant to help them, or they mistrust and are skeptical about the programs. A recommendation that has already been mentioned—all Federal programs designed to help poor people should have a component whereby some of the poor themselves would be hired and trained to be fieldworkers, to work among the poor, to assist them in utilizing the programs.

There is need of more educational programs which are intimately connected with immediate economic benefits, such as receiving a stipend during the learning process or the promise of a definite job after completion of the course.

I would like to see a greater thrust by the various Federal agencies in supporting more cooperatives among low income people, for I am convinced that cooperatives can help solve some of the root causes of poverty. Cooperatives can be powerful socioeconomic instruments to combat the culture of poverty. Through the instrumentality of cooperatives, the motivational vacuum which characterizes the poor can be pierced; and the spark of hope, that it is possible to have a better tomorrow, can be ignited in otherwise apathetic and hostile people.

But cooperatives among the low income people must have a definite philosophy, which has been developed by the world-famous Movement of Nova Scotia and which is based upon five general principles:

(1) The primacy of the individual. The individual is more important than money, and from this flows the democratic principle that each member has only one vote no matter how many shares he owns. The democratic principle instills in the poor who belong to the co-op a sense of ownership and control. They come to know and feel that they own and have an equal voice in running their organization. Many of the poor are given their first experience in demo-

cratic procedures. Not only do they learn parliamentary procedures, but they learn early that cooperation is the only way for the poor to acquire economic prestige in their community.

(2) Genuine social reform in a democracy must come through the actions of the citizens. Real social progress can only be achieved if there is an improvement in the quality and status of the people themselves. People must change, not just their environment; and this change and improvement can only come about if the people themselves are involved in effecting the changes.

Too often the failure of our country's social welfare efforts stem from our preoccupation with doing for people instead of doing with them.

More programs are needed which are geared to helping the poor by giving them the means to help themselves. This can be done through cooperatives. They give people the technical skills and know-how and encouragement so necessary for the poor to attain human dignity and strength; and this means, actually, adult education.

(3) Adult education must begin with economic problems, the problems which the poor themselves deem necessary or deem urgent. We know in all education the problem of motivating the student to want to learn, and when you are dealing with adults, it is even a greater problem, and it has been found—Actually, I found this out through 2 years of failure in trying to teach adults how to read and write, and after 2 years we had more teachers than we had students. In analyzing the approach, we found that we thought that this is what they needed, but they didn't see it that way. So you have to start where they are and start with what they deem necessary and then work from that point, and usually their problems are centered around economic problems.

(4) Adult education must be through group action. Group action is natural to man and the problems to be solved are group problems. Especially in the society in which we live today, the great need of the poor, is to be organized, because it is only through organization that we can effect change, and, therefore, effective adult education must fit into this basic group organization of society.

(5) Finally, effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic institutions, and a cooperative based on these given general principles can organize the poor effectively, and even though they begin their organization around an economic need, they branch out into other areas of community involvement, so that the economic cooperation around which the organization begins is the first step and only the first step, and I believe that many new and creative ways of using cooperatives must be found to help the poor organize and to help themselves. In fact, any movement that organizes and gives hope to the poor and effectively promotes a sense of solidarity with larger groups will effectively help to destroy the psychological and social core of the culture of poverty.

Greater priority must be placed by Federal agencies, and especially the FHA, to stimulate and encourage the formation of cooperatives, not just as economic institutions but primarily as socioeconomic institutions to help in the development of undeveloped people, which is even more fundamental than the mere economic issues, although intimately involved with them.

Open for questioning.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Rev. McKnight. You are, I think, the 17th of our witnesses today, and I would say——

Fr. MCKNIGHT (interrupting): Pretty tired?

The CHAIRMAN: No, I wouldn't say that. I was going to say that we are deeply indebted to you because your presentation was clear, concise and insightful, and extremely helpful, and personally I was glad to hear you mention Nova Scotia, because I think Nova Scotia should be mentioned more often when we are talking about the involvement of the so-called target people.

Are there questions from the Commission?

Mr. Gibson first.

Mr. GIBSON: Father McKnight, I have been interested in your co-op; I have been reading about it. Sometimes I get a mailing from there. And I am interested in what you are trying to do and interested in your thoughts about how applicable this is to a rather large population similar to the people whom you are working with in Louisiana, and what resources these groups can expect to get from Federal programs and other programs. In other words, I'd like to know what kind of help you are getting and what kind of obstacles you are meeting in your efforts.

Fr. MCKNIGHT: Well, we are not getting too much assistance, and that's just why I think that a greater emphasis—if we could get more assistance from various Federal agencies, we could move so much faster and be more effective, but we have been left almost completely on our own small resources.

Mr. GIBSON: Why is this so?

Fr. MCKNIGHT: Because it is effective, and as the previous speaker mentioned, when you start organizing the poor, you start stepping on toes and vested interests, and there is just a general—I say this: those in power are not really sincere in their intention to eliminate poverty, because anything that tends to immediately causes a furor.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Davis, please.

Mr. GIBSON: I haven't finished.

The CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon.

Mr. GIBSON: This is to say that you have your program, your efforts, the clientele; you and those involved in the co-op activities are eligible for certain kinds of Federal resources which you cannot receive because of local political hostility?

Fr. MCKNIGHT: Right now we are in the process of receiving some assistance direct from Washington, but locally——

Mr. GIBSON (interrupting): What agency, may I ask?

Fr. MCKNIGHT: This is part of the Extension Service, indirectly with Farmers Cooperative Service, direct from Washington.

Mr. GIBSON: Is that because you find it impossible to get resource out of the local representatives and functionary?

Fr. MCKNIGHT: Right. All the kind of resources that we need they say are not available, and you just get a runaround. We have received some financial assistance from several foundations, and we are hoping to receive a sizable one in the immediate future to help organize cooperatives in a four-State area from a foundation.

Mr. FORD: Could you be a little more specific about the types of needs you have that you have not been able to receive?

Fr. MCKNIGHT: Well, I would say the primary need for organizers to work in the community with the people, and I would think with most of the Federal programs that the greatest need is people to communicate, to work with the people directly, fieldworkers I would call them, or I guess in an urban sense you call them community organizers, but just field people to communicate with the people, because actually it is a selling job that has to be done. You just can't make an initial contact and expect a person to be sold on the idea of cooperation or on even taking advantage of many of the services that are available. They have to be sold, and it usually requires a number of contacts, and in many of the programs, say, in the county agent or the FHA, they just have a man to go around and he makes superficial contacts and a person doesn't want his service, that's it. It is the same with this cooperative idea. It is something new and it takes time to sell the people on it, and then it takes time to work with the people. And the greatest need that we have had and have not found any way of solving it, it is for fieldworkers.

The **CHAIRMAN**: Mr. Davis.

Mr. **LAWRENCE DAVIS**: If you will just indulge me briefly, because it is obvious to us that I guess the two most provocative and certainly interesting presentations have been the last two, but in our education, and I am certainly brainwashed because all my life I have been in it, we often rather boast of our middle class, and I have been taught that the fact that there was a middle class in America was greatly responsible for the stability of our Government and our country, it seems to be something of a product of the Western World, our Western Society, so I want to ask you two questions, if you don't mind commenting on them.

Are middle-class standards, in your estimation and based on your experience, are middle-class standards and values totally undesirable? Are they undesirable or should they just be cleaned up a little bit? And the other thing is, What should be the objective of the poor? Should they try to move up into a sort of middle-class living, or should we just create a new type of social structure here and have new values altogether and have one sort of thing, you know what I mean? Just give me your reaction, because I think you are hitting at a fundamental thing here.

Fr. **MCKNIGHT**: Right, I think so. I do not say that the middle-class standards or values are totally unacceptable. All I am saying is that there is a difference. Many of the values of the lower class are good, and they should be kept, and one of my great fears many times, is that they will lose some of these values in trying to accept middle-class standards.

When programs are designed, this cultural chasm should be taken into consideration and not just be considered from the middle-class standpoint.

Mr. **LAWRENCE DAVIS**: The only reason I ask this—we in America are self-critical despite our evils, but we damn the middle class. We damn the middle-class standards so much that people who are not very perceptive just take the middle-class standards and middle-class people as automatically evil, and probably feel they ought to be destroyed, and I ask that because I want to know.

Fr. **MCKNIGHT**: No. All I am saying is there is a difference of values.

Mr. **LAWRENCE DAVIS**: We agree there certainly.

The CHAIRMAN: I am glad you are on the side of nondestruction. Mr. Gay has a question.

Mr. GAY: Father, my brain was probably trailing you a little bit there in one place, but you made a statement, and this may be out of context, you said that for the poor there is no hope. Is that out of context?

Fr. McKNIGHT: No. I mean that's the concept of many of the poor.

Mr. GAY: Father, you also said that the programs of people who ostensibly have set out to eradicate or eliminate rural poverty are insincere; the people themselves are insincere. You said further that there were superficial passes made by Farmers Home Administration personnel, extension people, et cetera. That's a pretty broad indictment, Father. I think it is so broad that I wonder if that statement can be backed up? I am not questioning your word, but can you back that up in a regional——

Fr. McKNIGHT (interrupting): I think most low income farmers in the South would endorse that statement 100 percent. Just to give a typical example: This happened in my own parish, I mean by a recently hired FHA personnel. He was working in an adjacent parish, and he is a recent graduate from agriculture school and just got the job. And he was mentioning the difficulty he had in trying to prove to one of the low income farmers about this free service of inoculating his cattle, and the farmer refused to believe him because all his life he had never been offered such free service, and that he had actually—the fieldworker had to actually bring the veterinarian there on the farm to inoculate the cattle and then still the man wanted, well, how much you going to charge me, and this is the experience of most.

Mr. GAY: You are a man of the cloth, and you know that the clergy and the churches have never cured all of our ills and all of our sins. Now this is not to say that you haven't done a pretty darn good job and haven't made a lot of progress. Now, I was a supervisor for Farm Security (now FHA), and a co-op chief, and I organized seven hundred and some co-ops and I just can't accept on a large scale, that because we haven't done the job completely, that we have failed any more than you as a clergyman have failed to correct all the ills.

Fr. McKNIGHT: I am talking about Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama, the areas that I know of where low income people are. We just organized recently a six-parish low income cooperative, and about 400 low income farmers, and almost to a man they said it was the first time in their lives, and they have been farming all their life, that they had ever come into contact, personal contact with the FHA or the county agent.

The CHAIRMAN: Sin is fairly prevalent, too, isn't it?

Fr. McKNIGHT: Right.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. LAUREL: You are a Roman Catholic priest?

Fr. McKNIGHT: Right.

Mr. LAUREL: I will call you Father, then. I think you have actually touched on an area that we are very much interested in, and the cooperative concept, of course, whether it be the consumer, whether it be people wanting to maybe upgrade their own status or their own conditions by joining together and having credit unions, for example, and teach them how best to save their money and then not be left to the device and the schemes of these lending people, you know, that take advantage of their plight and so on. I wanted to ask you this: With reference to the work that is being done by VISTA, I am talking now about your statement about getting fieldworkers. Now, I know in certain areas where the VISTA have done a tremendous job in going out among the poor and organizing them to this extent, of having neighborhood councils, for example, which is something that never existed before. Would you consider that a VISTA that wants to do some work with reference to a cooperative or a consumer cooperative, and that maybe the local group that oversees their work, do you think that they might frown on such an operation on the part of VISTA?

Fr. McKnight: Oh, definitely. Well, just for an instance: We were the first one in the State of Louisiana who had an application in for VISTA volunteers, and we could never get any. The Governor refused to—he has complete control over the VISTA volunteers coming, and he absolutely refused to allow any to come in under our supervision, or to work with our co-op.

Mr. Laurel: But don't you agree that work along those lines could certainly be carried out?

Fr. McKnight: VISTA volunteers would be very good.

Mr. Gallegos: Is the problem one of funding to provide new career opportunities for local residents in the community to develop co-op opportunities, or is the problem one of searching for the kind of fieldworker, field representative to come in to do the kind of organizing you think is needed—for example, the Olinsky type of organizer or one more geared to union organization or civil rights approach? I mean, what is the dilemma besides the one you have mentioned?

Fr. McKnight: Well, I don't have enough experience, but I am firmly convinced that you can get people from the local areas. The poor themselves, if they are properly trained, can do a lot of this organization. We had a program—it lasted only 4 months—this past year, to help organize a group of low income sweetpotato farmers, and it was funded through OEO. With four of our staff we trained 26 of the farmers from a six-parish area, and then these farmers, in turn, did the organizing, and within the period of 4 months, well, the co-op had over 400 members. And it was successful this year, but because it was successful all hell has broken loose and there is no chance now in the world of getting that program funded again. That's the problem.

Mr. Gay: Until you get enough political muscle in some of these areas to get rid of your Leander Parish and some of the others we could talk about, you are going to continue to have that, I am afraid, Father.

Fr. McKnight: But what happens to the poor?

Mr. Ford: Father McKnight, how many members are there in your co-op?

Fr. McKnight: In Southern Consumers we have roughly 2,000 members. Now, this is scattered throughout the State of Louisiana.

Mr. Ford: How many of these are white; how many are Negroes?

Fr. McKnight: About 15 to 20 percent would be white.

Mr. Ford: Are these located in some particular area, or is it fairly general? I mean you have a concentration of whites?

Fr. McKnight: Concentration is in the Lafayette area. I would say the six parishes centered around Lafayette would be the concentration.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: I might point out that Father McKnight has used the word "parish" as referring to the county system in Louisiana.

I am very interested in your description. It is the most articulated description of the psychological outlook of the poor, and as a good middle-class product I found this very difficult to understand and would like to suggest to the Commission that if you get a chance, you might look at—there is about a chapter or two in George Orwell's little book called "Down and Out in London and Paris," where he lived the life of complete destitution, not completely absorbed into this culture, and writes very, very insightfully of it. It sounds like Father McKnight.

Fr. McKnight: One of the latest, of course, is this Oscar Lewis, "Insights." And this I have found, well, in traveling or speaking with various Spanish-American and Mexican-American and Puerto Rican groups; I used to think, especially this idea of self-hatred, a concept just to the Negro. But I found out it is applicable to almost any minority group that had developed a subculture, and that's Oscar Lewis's finding, too.

Mr. Bonnen: They have to develop a subculture, though?

Mr. Laurel: Is that on the children of Sanchez?

Fr. McKnight: La Vida.

Mrs. Jackson: How do you, Father McKnight, reconcile upper social mobility and the tracing of this middle class back to the poor? How can we reconcile that, if the poor have no place to go, no ambition to go up? I haven't accepted it yet.

Fr. McKnight: But here not all poor people are involved in the culture poverty. See, there are poor people who have not developed this culture of poverty; they have ambition, and given proper conditions they will move upward. But when you are talking about the hard-core poor, these people have developed—many of them have developed a culture of poverty, and it is completely different from people who are poor, economically poor.

Mrs. Jackson: They must be fairly easy for you to detect, those who have developed a culture of the poor?

Fr. McKnight: Not always.

Mrs. Jackson: Are you a native Louisianian?

Fr. McKnight: No, I am from Brooklyn, N.Y.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Gay has one question.

Mr. Gay: One final question for me, Father.

When you said for the poor there is no hope, when you say that, you are a leader, and there are two questions come to my mind. One, if that statement is true, who needs you, who needs me, who needs all these people in this room? No. 2, if we accept that there is no hope for the poor, why, what is the difference in saying that and implying —aren't we playing into the hands of the big cats and plantation people and the distorted people who have always been telling they were no damn good, they were poor white trash, niggers, and no hope for them?

Fr. McKnight: You might have misunderstood me, I think. When I said for them there is no hope, that is their thinking.

The Chairman: That is their opinion?

Fr. McKnight: That is their opinion. That is not my opinion, and it should not be our testimony. For the poor person, that is the way he looks at it, "This is a hopeless situation. I can't do any better." That is what I mean. I didn't mean from our——

Mr. Gay (interrupting): Thank you for straightening me out.

Mr. Neil Davis: I don't believe I heard you making any plea for States rights.

Fr. McKnight: Not until the political climate changes in the South.

Mr. Neil Davis: Have they ever?

Fr. McKnight: No.

Mr. Laurel: The important thing, you haven't given up the poor, you are giving reassurance?

Fr. McKnight: I think there is great hope.

Mr. Laurel: Because if you haven't, we might adjourn right now.

The Chairman: I think, ladies and gentlemen, we have had quite a wonderful day, and Father McKnight has helped to bring it to a high point of understanding of the problems that we are facing.

We thank all the witnesses that have been here and visitors and our staff and particularly the Commissioners for their patience throughout.

We adjourn now, but reassemble at 8:30 in this same place. Thank you very much.

Fr. McKnight: Thank you.

(Whereupon at 7:12 p.m., the hearing was adjourned until 8:30 a.m., Friday, February 3, 1967.)

February 3, 1967

MORNING SESSION

Chairman Hutchins: Ladies and gentlemen, according to the schedule we are now 5 minutes late. We cannot afford to be today, particularly, so I will call the hearing to order and we will proceed with the list of witnesses.

I think you know the purpose of our being here is to hear from witnesses, their words of wisdom and advice in connection with the work of the Commission, which is directed toward the various aspects of rural poverty.

The first person on our list this morning is Mr. Clyde Warrior, president, National Indian Youth Council, Tahlequah, Okla.

Mr. Warrior, please, would you be so kind as to come up here and sit down where we can see you.

We would like to have you limit your remarks to about 15 minutes and then we will ask you questions.

Mr. Warrior: I have about a 15-minute general statement to make.

The Chairman: All right, sir.

STATEMENT OF CLYDE WARRIOR

Mr. WARRIOR: Most members of the National Indian Youth Council can remember when we were children and spent many hours at the feet of our grandfathers listening to stories of the time when the Indians were a great people, when we were free, when we were rich, when we lived the good life. At the same time we hear stories of droughts, famines, and pestilence among Indian people. But it is only recently that we realized that there was surely great material deprivation in those days, and that our old people felt rich because they were free. They were rich in the things of spirit. But if there is one thing that characterizes Indian life today it is poverty of the spirit. We still have human passion and depth of feeling, which is something rare today, but we are poor in spirit because we are not free, free in the most basic sense of the word. We as American Indians are not allowed to make those basic human choices and decisions about our personal life and about the best need of our communities, which is the mark of free, mature people.

We sit on our front porches or in our yards, and the world and our lives in it pass us by without our desires or aspirations having any effect. We are not free. We do not make choices. Our choices are made for us; we are the poor. For those of us who live on reservations these choices and decisions are made by Federal administrators, bureaucrats, and their "yes men," euphemistically called tribal governments. Those of us who live in nonreservation areas have our lives controlled by local white power elites. We have many rulers. They are called social workers, "cops," school teachers, churches, et cetera, and recently OEO employees, because in the meeting they tell us what is good for us and how they programed us, for they come into our homes and instruct us, and their manners are not what one would always call polite by Indian standards, or perhaps by any standards. We are rarely accorded respect as fellow human beings. Our children come home from school to us with shame in their hearts and a sneer on their lips for their home and parents. We are the "poverty problem," and that is true; and perhaps it is also true that our lack of reasonable choices, our lack of freedom, our poverty of spirit is not unconnected with our material poverty.

The National Indian Youth Council realizes there is a great struggle going on in America now between those who want more "local" control of programs and those who would keep the power and the purse strings in the hands of the Federal Government. We are unconcerned with that struggle because we know that no one is arguing that the dispossessed, the poor, be given any control over their own destiny. The local white power elites who protest the loudest against Federal control are the very ones who would keep us poor in spirit and worldly goods in order to enhance their own personal and economic station in the world. Nor have those of us on reservations fared any better under the paternalistic control of Federal administrators. In fact, we shudder at the specter of what seems to be the forming alliances in Indian areas between Federal administrators and local elites.

Some of us fear that this is the shape of things to come in the War on Poverty effort. Certainly it is in those areas where such an alliance is taking place, that the poverty program seems to be "working well."

That is to say, it is in those areas of the country where the Federal Government is getting the least "static," and where Federal money is being used to bolster the local power structure and local institutions. By "everybody being satisfied," I mean the people who count, and the Indian or poor does not count.

Let us take the Headstart program as an instance. We are told in the not-so-subtle racist vocabulary of the modern middle class that our children are "deprived." Exactly what they are deprived of seems to be unstated. We give our children love, warmth, and respect in our homes and the qualities necessary to be a warm human being. Perhaps many of them get into trouble in their teens because we have given them too much warmth, love, passion, and respect. Perhaps they have a hard time reconciling themselves to being a number on an IBM card. Nevertheless, many educators and politicians seem to assume that we, the poor, the Indians, are not capable of handling our own affairs and even raising our own children and that State institutions must do that job for us and take them away from us as soon as they can. My grandmother said last week, "Train your child well now for soon she will belong to her teacher and the schools."

Many of our fears about the Headstart program which we had from listening to the vocabulary of educators and their intentions were not justified, however. In our rural areas the program seems to have turned out to be just a federally subsidized kindergarten which no one takes too seriously. It has not turned out to be, as we feared, an attempt to "rethread the twisted head" of the child from a poor home. Headstart, as a program, may not have fulfilled the expectations of "elitist" educators in our educational colleges, and the poor may not be ecstatic over the results, but local powers are overjoyed. This is the one program which has not upset anyone's applecart and which has strengthened local institutions in an acceptable manner, acceptable at least to our local "patrons."

Fifty years ago the Federal Government came into our communities and by force carried most of our children away to distant boarding schools for 10 or 12 years. My father's and many of my generation lived their childhoods in an almost prisonlike atmosphere. Many returned unable even to speak their own language. Some returned to become drunks. Most of them had become white haters or that most pathetic of all modern Indians, Indian haters. Very few ever became more than very confused, ambivalent, and immobilized individuals, never able to reconcile the tensions and contradictions built inside themselves by outside institutions. As you can imagine, we have little faith in such kinds of Federal programs devised for our betterment, nor do we see education as a panacea for all ills.

In recent days, however, some of us have been thinking that perhaps the damage done to our community by forced assimilation and directed acculturative programs was minor compared to the situation in which our children find themselves. There is a whole generation of Indian children who are growing up in the American school system. They still look to their relatives, my generation and my father's, to see if they are worthy people. Their judgment and definition of what is worthy is now the judgment which most Americans make. They judge worthiness as competence and competence as worthiness. And I am afraid my fathers and I do not fare well in the light of this situation and judgment. Our children are learning that their people are not worthy and thus that they individually are not worthy. But even if by some stroke of good fortune prosperity was handed to us on a platter, that still would not soften the negative judgment our youngsters have of their people and themselves. As you know, people who feel themselves to be unworthy and feel they cannot escape this unworthiness turn to drink and crime and self-destructive acts. Unless there is some way that we as Indian individuals and communities can prove ourselves competent and worthy in the eyes of our youngsters there will be a generation of Indians grow to adulthood whose reactions to their situation will make previous social ills seem like a Sunday school picnic.

For the sake of our children, for the sake of the spiritual and material well-being of our total community, we must be able to demonstrate competence to ourselves. For the sake of our psychic stability as well as our physical well-being, we must be free men and exercise free choices. We must make decisions about our own destinies. We must be able to learn and profit by our own mistakes. Only then can we become competent and prosperous communities. We must be free in the most literal sense of the word, not sold or coerced into accepting programs for our own good, not of our own making or choice. Too much of what passes for grassroots democracy on the American scene is really a slick job of salesmanship. It is not hard for sophisticated administrators to sell tinsel and glitter programs to simple people, programs which are not theirs, which they do not understand, and which cannot but ultimately fail to contribute to already strong feelings of inadequacy.

Community development must be just what the word implies, community development. It cannot be packaged programs wheeled into Indian communities by outsiders which Indians can "buy" or once again brand themselves as unprogressive if they do not "cooperate." Even the best of outside programs suffer from one very large defect: If the program falters, helpful outsiders too often step in to smooth over the rough spots. At that point any program ceases to belong to the people involved and ceases to be a learning experience for them. Programs must be Indian creations, Indian choices, Indian experiences. Even the failures must be Indian experiences because only then will Indians understand why a program failed and not blame themselves for some personal inadequacy. A better program built upon the failure of an old program is the path of progress. But to achieve this experience, competence, worthiness, sense of achievement, and the resultant material prosperity, Indians must have the responsibility in the ultimate sense of the word. Indians must be free in the sense that other, more prosperous Americans are free. Freedom and prosperity are different sides of the same coin and there can be no freedom without complete responsibility. And I do not mean the fictional responsibility and democracy of passive consumers of programs—programs which emanate from and whose responsibility for success rests in the hands of outsiders, be they Federal administrators or local white elitist groups.

Many of our young people are captivated by the lure of the American city with its excitement and promise of unlimited opportunity. But even if educated they come from powerless and inexperienced communities and many times carry with them a strong sense of unworthiness. For many of them the promise of opportunity ends in the gutter on the skid rows of Los Angeles and Chicago. They should and must be given a better chance to take advantage of the opportunities they have. They must grow up in a decent community with a strong sense of personal adequacy and competence.

America cannot afford to have whole areas and communities of people in such dire social and economic circumstances. Not only for her economic well-being, but for her moral well-being as well. America has given a great social and moral message to the world and demonstrated, perhaps not forcefully enough, that freedom and responsibility as an ethic is inseparable from and, in fact, the cause of the fabulous American standard of living. America has not, however, been diligent enough in promulgating this philosophy within her own borders. American Indians need to be given this freedom and responsibility which most Americans assume as their birthright. Only then will poverty and powerlessness cease to hang like the sword of Damocles over our heads, stifling us. Only then can we enjoy the fruits of the American system and become participating citizens—Indian Americans rather than American Indians.

We hope this Commission pays close attention to the three supplementary sections of this testimony and pays heed to the recommendations therein.

Perhaps the National Indian Youth Council's real criticism is against a structure created by bureaucratic administrators who are caught in this American myth that all people assimilate into American society, that economics dictates assimilation and integration. When from the experience of the National Indian Youth Council, and in reality—which we cannot emphasize and recommend strongly enough—the fact is that no one integrates and disappears into American society. What ethnic groups do is not integrate into American society and economy individually, but enter into the mainstream of American society as a people, and in particular as communities of people. The solution to Indian poverty is not "government programs," but in the competence of the person and his people. The real solution to poverty is encouraging the competence of the community as a whole.

The National Indian Youth Council recommends for "openers," that to really give these people—"the poor, the dispossessed, the Indians"—complete freedom and responsibility, is to let it become a reality, not a much-heard-about dream, and let the poor decide for once what is best for themselves.

We recommend that funds or subsidy or whatever it's called be provided for indigent tribes and communities so that they themselves decide what they would like to do and what they deem best for their community. Of course, we realize within the present structure this is not possible. So we further recommend that another avenue of thought be tried, such as junking the present structure and creating another, since it is typical of bureaucratic societies that when one takes upon himself to improve a situation, one immediately, unknowingly, falls into a structure of thinking that in order to improve any situation you take the existing avenues of so-called improvement and reinforce the existing condition, thereby reinforcing and strengthening the ills that are implicit in the very structure of that society.

Thank you, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, sir. I believe you are the first to present to the Commission in Memphis the problems of the Indian. In Tucson I believe there were other statements, but this is the first that I myself have heard and the first we have heard in Memphis.

Mr. Gay, please.

Mr. **Gay**: Mr. Warrior, I came in a bit late, for which I apologize. I couldn't get waited on for breakfast this morning, but I find a thread running through your testimony that I picked up in many other witnesses and it is beginning to worry me.

First of all, the world is going to hell in a handbasket, I am convinced of that, if we don't watch out for the "outsiders." I have heard so much about outsiders lately. It used to be that I'd hear it from George Wallace and Lester Maddox and Leander Perez and those people, but now I am hearing it from people like yourself, outsiders. They are being equated—outsiders and bureaucrats are the same for your testimony—they are being equated with meddlers. The three words, outsiders, you kept using it, bureaucrats, you kept using, the existing structure, you kept using. What do we do, send money, do it by mail? I am talking about the society in general, let's say "Washington." What does it do, just mail you some money? This is not personal, but this bothers me, this really bothers me, and I don't know the answer.

Mr. **Warrior**: Well, I said for openers it might be tried. It appears to me that a great many other things have been tried and to no success.

Mr. **Gay**: A mail-order New Deal or a mail-order Great Society?

Mr. **Warrior**: I don't see that that's so fantastic or hard to contemplate. The Republican Party says the same thing, let's have local control, but as they say, local control or State control, whatever you call it, what I am saying is let's let the people involved have control over their own fate and destiny. You might try it, or we could sit back and be elitists and plan.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mr. Warrior, we understand from some previous testimony as referred to by Mr. Gay, that by and large the Indian people of this country, the Indian Americans, wish to retain certain of their own cultural values, and certainly I am not criticizing that, but in a sense retain their own culture and almost their own government. Have you thought far enough into the future to describe what kind of society you think we should have and how the Indian people would operate within this society? I am talking about the American society. I think this is a serious thing, it is something we are going to have to think about. But if you had it the way you want it, just how would this whole business be set up?

Mr. **Warrior**: Like it is supposed to be set up in the Constitution of the United States, whereby any community or municipality handles their own affairs.

Mr. **Gay**: Come now, Mr. Warrior.

Mr. **Warrior**: You mean that's so fantastic that people can't handle their own affairs?

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I am asking you to describe it.

Mr. **Warrior**: There are Indian communities in this country, let's face it, and they are going to be here for quite a while.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: For example, you feel that's the way it should be?

Mr. **Warrior**: There are other communities besides Indian communities.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: That the Indian people should live within their own communities and run their own lives——

Mr. **Warrior** (interrupting): I'm not saying that.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I'm not debating it. I am trying to find out what you want.

Mr. **Warrior**: I just want these communities, whatever they may be, Polish communities, Irish communities, whatever they are, if they are poor, to be able somehow or another to get funds to do something to bring themselves out of this economic situation they are in.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Now, if you had the funds you'd still want the Indian community with the Indian culture and have the funds to live the life you want to live, that's what I am trying to determine.

See, the reason this bothers me a great deal is that we as Negroes in this country that are a minority group—we are a racial group, not just ethnic, we are more racial than ethnic—want to be integrated. We talk in terms of being absorbed into the mainstream. We want to live within the total community and not within the Negro community in a town or county or State. We want to stay in the same hotels. And culturally we want to be the same, the only difference being in color, and we are changing that as fast as we can. So this is a new type of philosophy as far as we are concerned, and I am not arguing against your point of view. I am not arguing against that at all, I am just wanting to understand it. I don't want you to get the idea that I am trying to refute, or oppose, or criticize, I just want to know what it is.

Mr. **Warrior**: Well, I guess as American Indians what we want is economic integration. We want to be able to eat three times a day and hold down a job like any other responsible citizen, which there are other ethnic groups that have done this in the country. You go to Detroit and you can almost divide the city up of ethnic settlements and communities.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: You have economic, but social and cultural——

Mr. **Warrior** (interrupting): That will be for them to decide.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: What I am thinking in terms of, is what as an Indian you want? That's all. I think we need to know, because after all, we will be writing reports.

Mr. **Warrior**: I think we would like to be proud of being an Indian and have the respect of other people that we are a human being also, and not something that you go to look at as if they are in a zoo. I think we would like to be respected like other people.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Gibson, please.

Mr. **Gibson**: Mr. Warrior, and Dr. Davis, in that particular connection I think there is unique necessity that by treaty, certain reservations exist, and certain territories which are physically in the possession of the Indians and which were agreed upon in order that the cultural heritage of the various tribes could be maintained. And it is not exactly the same kind of thing as ethnic enclave that we would find in some of our cities. I think that there are, in fact, two different questions, the on- and off-reservation, with regard to the assimilation and social aspects of the things.

I wonder, Mr. Warrior, whether with regard to the on-reservation situation, that in terms of the economic development factor that it would be possible, as most of the tribal situations presently are for the kind of development you are talking about to occur without things such as we heard in Tucson about the plant which located there and which is developing or has training programs or had training programs apparently before it went there. And its tribe, I forget which tribe it is, in the vicinity of Albuquerque, owns the plant and has invited the plant there. They brought about three people down from another place to help set this one up and so therefore the management of this plant is largely Indian from that particular tribe, and so forth. Now, this is a kind of participation, I would suppose, that certainly generates employment and so forth, but it certainly is a tie, a definite tie to the larger community—also, I think, like black power, which is discussed these days, one wonders where the capital and the capitalistic society are to establish employment. A parallel ethnic or society situation without capital is unable to establish capital. The solution probably means drawing or tying in somewhere to that part of the society which has the capital. And since we are talking about the white elite or the white elitists that you referred to, I believe, would you comment on that a bit?

And then I have one more question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WARRIOR: I think what they are trying to do out in the Southwest and in many reservation areas is to entice industry into reservation areas, and some places they are also trying to borrow money from the Federal Government where they can start their own industries. And I think this is a step towards, if integration is what they want, to tie in with the American economy and then integration will come about. Before a person integrates in he's got to be economically sound.

Mr. GIBSON: Is this in any way in opposition to what you are discussing this morning?

Mr. WARRIOR: I am in no position to oppose anything. If it is what any given community wants, that's their business.

Mr. GIBSON: So, it is a matter of options, then?

Mr. WARRIOR: Yes, it depends on the individual community. What works for one area won't necessarily work for another. There are some very traditional American communities in this country who won't have anything to do with outsiders and there are some very progressive communities that can't get enough programs or things going for them to be more economically stable, and it depends on that given community.

Mr. GIBSON: Now, there is one other area I am very interested in. I am impressed in your statement that you have analyzed several situations, and I find myself agreeing and seeing many similarities between what you have perceived as the situation affecting the Indians, and I think you did say to the poor, and this certainly includes large blocks of Negroes and persons with whom I have worked, and I think large blocks of poor whites, also. I am one who believes that there is little likelihood in our socity that without the ability to exert pressure in the places of power, change does not occur, and I am interested to know, Mr. Warrior, from you what state of political organization and protest or potential protest organization among the Indians, especially the younger Indians, exists today?

Mr. Warrior: It is beginning to come about, but there is tremendous pressue on American Indians not to do this.

Mr. Gibson: I would imagine——

Mr. Warrior (interrupting): Because American Indians have been built up throughout the years to be the most patriotic Americans, and to protest against the American way is very un-American. So, pressures are put upon them to be mute and inert and not say anything in behalf of their own situation, which I personally think is very pathetic for a people to be so intimidated by something that they don't know anything about, to just sit mute and not say anything. And we tend to try not to do this, but it is very difficult.

Mr. Laurel: Could I ask a question?

The Chairman: Mr. Laurel, please.

Mr. Laurel: Mr. Warrior, would you mind doing this for the Commission, giving us a little background as to the community you come from, more or less the makeup of it from the standpoint of its population? Can you give us some background there so we can more or less understand what the situation might be with reference to the complaints that you have, and local people not being given sufficient opportunity to go ahead and participate in the programs that are to be implemented in that locality? Can you give us a background first?

Mr. Warrior: My statement was to deal with American Indians in general throughout the country, to hit both the reservation and nonreservation.

I come from Oklahoma, which is a nonreservation area, whatever that is, but there are tremendous amounts of Indian land in Oklahoma, and it has the largest Indian population of any State in the country, and there are many, many Indian communities throughout the whole State. I come from the north-central area, a place called Ponca City, Okla., a town of about 25,000. My tribe is 1,600; we live separate in a community to ourselves. There is very little communication between the Indian people and the power structure or white people of that area. It is an oil town; Continental Oil Company has its head offices there. Throughout the whole history there have been three Poncas employed by the Continental Oil Company. It is their stated and said policy that they won't hire any Indians. We constitute the poor of that county, along with another Negro community presently.

Mr. Laurel: Do you mind if I follow through with this question? If you constitute, then, the majority in Ponca City, is that what you said?

Mr. Warrior: Yes.

Mr. Laurel: Now, don't you in setting up——

Mr. Warrior (interrupting): We don't constitute the majority. We constitute the majority of the poor.

Mr. Laurel: Oh, I see. Now, but do you participate in the decisions to be made by the local poverty agency, whatever it might be called?

Mr. Warrior: There is none, because Kay County happens to be one of the richest counties in Oklahoma. You look at it statistically, there is no poverty in Kay County except for this little group of 1,600 people here that seem to get in people's way and an eyesore, that the county really wishes wasn't there and if they could import them out they would. But this is western Oklahoma. In eastern

Oklahoma—you have about 50,000 Indians in eastern Oklahoma, in the Ozark area.

Mr. LAUREL: Do they have any poverty programs?

Mr. WARRIOR: There is a tremendous struggle going on of the local white power elite to control it. The county commissioner—well, every time they set up a community action program the county commissioner gets his brother or brother-in-law to head it. And it is local patron nepotism I am involved in, and none of the money ever trickles down to the poor, so therefore there has really no program been started except Headstart, and as I said, Headstart doesn't bother nobody, it is just little kids being sat with by other people.

Mr. LAUREL: So, other than Headstart, then, there is no other poverty program?

Mr. WARRIOR: They have tremendous meetings about every week or so in every county and talk about it, but nothing has ever been done. The Federal Government stipulates that there has got to be Negroes, Indians, and white people on the board of directors, and the white people can't seem to agree on who the Negroes and the Indians should be.

Mr. LAUREL: So, therefore, nothing is done; they just talk about it every time they meet?

Mr. WARRIOR: That's right.

Mr. LAUREL: I can understand the situation, then. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. GALLEGOS: Mr. Warrior, as president of the National Indian Youth Council I would imagine that your council has from time to time convened meetings and conferences to pinpoint the problems which you have shared with us this morning. To what extent have you been able to enter into discussions with Federal officials regarding these, and to what extent have your problems been heard, and have they been taken seriously and some actions followed through on the recommendations that you have made, or do you feel that this is the problem?

Mr. WARRIOR: It is probably one of the major problems. There is an Indian establishment in this country composed of the Federal Government branch called the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And some local congressmen and the various administrators that head the fellow offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they picked their head Indians in the Indian areas to espouse these things, until the National Youth Council came about. And this is one of the reasons why we organized. We didn't like what was going on, so therefore we have been labeled everything from communists to, you know, Rockwell. We have gotten a very bad name from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They don't like us. Every time we say something, well, they say, "That's just radical malcontent youth, don't pay no attention to them, they will go away." At least that's what they are hoping, but we will be around a while.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Warrior. You have opened up some very important considerations for us and we surely appreciate your coming. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WARRIOR: Thank you very much, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: Our next witness is Mr. Early Padgett of Monterey, Tenn.

Mr. Padgett, we welcome you. We are very glad to have you here.

Would you tell us just a little bit about yourself first? Where is Monterey in the State of Tennessee, and whether you are married and what children you have and what work you have done, just a little personal information first.

STATEMENT OF EARLY PADGETT

Mr. **Padgett**: Monterey is in Putnam County, up in the Cumberland Mountains, halfway between Nashville and Knoxville, if that will help you any.

The **Chairman**: Yes, sir, it does.

Mr. **Padgett**: I was raised out in the country, out in Overton County just out of Monterey on a farm, in coal mining area, and I don't have any children. I have been married 16 years, no children. My father was a coal miner and a part-time farmer, so I'm one of these backwoods boys raised out in the woods. Poverty is one of my next door neighbors. I got a third grade education and about 2 months in the fourth.

On this meeting, I didn't get too clear an understanding. I got the notice and they said I'd have a copy of the program in it and it wasn't, so I called L.B.J. & C. and asked them, and they told me they was wanting to know out here about the rural areas, the poverty areas.

The statement I am going to make, it is a true statement, things that I know. That's all I know to talk about, things that I do know of the area and can back up and do know.

The **Chairman**: Please, sir.

Mr. **Padgett**: Well, in our area, one of the things that we have a great need for in the rural areas—now this is in the backroads area—this is roads. These poor counties, they can't keep up the roads and we need some roads, some leading roads to open up the rural areas where they will create more jobs for the people and where they will open up areas for tourists. We got a lot of beautiful mountain country back through there, and there can be a lot of hunting lodges and, oh, weekend cabins, and a lot of things that would create jobs and work.

Our county schools, our county school buses, they have quite a problem getting over the roads through the winter season. They don't have a lot of fun in rural areas, in our area, about the school buses and getting over the roads, getting the children to school, and the children is out of the school a lot.

The **Chairman**: Do you live on a dirt road or stone road or blacktop?

Mr. **Padgett**: Well, most of the side roads are gravel roads, dirt gravel, but the gravel is just about gone, and there's not a lot which automobiles— A lot of times the school buses drive over roads that you can't get an automobile over. We have those problems.

Another problem we have in the rural areas is jobs. We have a great need for jobs; that is, the biggest need is for older people, people 40 years up. In our area, why, the young people, the ambitious people, they get their education, they get some know-how, a little training and skill, and they leave the rural areas. And our rural areas up there, everything is draining out, there is nothing coming back, like resources is all being taken to the urban areas and there is nothing coming back is our problem in there.

And jobs, we have a lot of older, middle-aged people that maybe owns a little home but they are in bad need of work. A lot of that property, the big timber on it—

They bought timberland, worked it off, shipped the timber off, and then they sold this real cheap to different people, a lot of these coal mining areas. And there is a lot of people that owns their homes, which they call them homes, which they are very poor, and there needs to be a lot of jobs for older people, and small businesses. I think in our area small business is one of the big needs in our area. We are very short on small businesses and things that give the older feller a job.

In the rural areas the small businessman is the greatest friend, for he is the man, if a man ain't got money to eat on, he goes to a small businessman; he will advance him money or give him a payday between the middle of the week or go to a small grocery man, he will give him credit which he don't get at the big supermarket; which I think in the rural areas small business is one of the greatest things we have.

Skills and education. There is another big need for education and all kinds of skills and leadership. Leadership, now, that's another problem we have in the rural areas, leadership and planning. Our leadership is very poor. About all the leaders and people that would make leaders—you don't educate a leader, he is more or less natural—and take people like that, they leave, they go to the urban areas, and we are losing all of our smart people, all of our leaders. And rural areas don't have no politicians. You know there ain't no politicians in rural areas; and politicians, they create a lot of leadership and a lot of things, and we don't have those in the rural areas.

A small-time farmer and a part-time farmer, they need some market for their products, and they need help in different ways. You take these small-town farmers and part-time farmers, they have it pretty rough and they are leaving every day. We don't have too many of them like we used to have them. And again, I feel like these little farmers and part-time farmers is a great need in these rural areas, for they take care of a lot of these people that can't help themselves. There is a lot of little part-time farmers, they give other people a little job and they raise stuff and help them out in a lot of different ways, and it is another area we need some help in, those rural areas.

Our leadership, I think that's one of our big factors. Most of our education people are gone, I mean the smart, educated people, they just don't stay around. There is nothing to hold them there. And if we had some roads where we could get money people in to buy up some of this land and put up some hunting lodges and, oh, any kind of recreation— And maybe an area there, it is close to Nashville, Chattanooga, if we had roads in that country it would open up this. And people would come in and buy a little tract of land and put a weekend cabin in there, and they come out and spend the weekend, they'd employ several of these older fellows to keep up the cabins, keep things straightened up. Then, another thing, you get businessmen like that in a community, you get a lot of leadership out of many, and a lot of planning. These rural areas is in bad need of planning. People like myself and a lot of them don't know how to go out and plan anything for the future. There is so many people like myself in these communities that don't have the training and the planning that should be done. These are rural area people. A lot of people think they are a little hard to get along with, that they won't do what you say; but they have been picked up too many times and dropped too many times, and they are pretty near afraid. When you come out with something too good they are just pretty near afraid to take hold of it, afraid it is going to close on them, and it takes some pretty good leadership in these rural areas. But you take this leadership, you get the people to do most anything you want; they have to believe, they have to know you. I think that goes [on] all over in a lot of communities, a lot of places.

And racial trouble, now, we don't have no racial trouble. When I am speaking of the poor and rural, we don't have that problem in our area. That's one thing we are mighty proud of. The area is mostly white. We do have some colored, there might be very few Indians and other races, but what mixed population we've got we have never had any problems in no respect as far as racial problems. We have more trouble between coal miners and non-coal miners than we do racial.

My dad was a coal miner and I was raised up in the coal mine area, but, you know, coal miners is a class of people, they are a pretty rough class of people in one sense of the word and they never do have very much education, and there is a problem between coal miners and non-coal miners just like there is racial in other races. Now, we have that problem more than we do in the racial, which that's no problem.

On our education, we need some skilled training and then we need some jobs to take care of these people when they get trained to keep them in the rural areas, to keep the smart people, the skilled, the trained people there for leadership and planning. There is a great need for a lot of things.

Now, as far as these giveaway checks, I think we have enough to do fairly well on that, but we need something concrete, something to build on, something that will stay with us out there. Now, OEO has got some great programs and, of course, some of those programs are not going deep through, they are not going far enough, like their home improvements. They ain't getting out in the rural areas like they should, they stay more in the urban areas. They aren't going out to where they are really needed.

Some of our welfare departments, they don't get out in the backwoods area, out in the rural area like they should go. The other day we had one case that had a family of four, and a lady come into the L.B.J. & C. office up there and said they was hungry, needed some help. So the secretary wasn't there, and some of the office girls went around and took up some money and passed it out for help. Next day she come back and Mr. Ingram was there and he called the welfare department and they told her that they might get up there next week. Now, we have a few cases, you know, like that, that they don't really go out and see, which Mr. Ingram sent her to the grocery store and got her a pile of groceries, which she was taken care of. But the other people, they feel these programs is not pushed, back in the backwoods where they ought to be. We have some problem there, but if they was pushed out— Or improvement on homes, there has been more done in the area on this FHA home improvement in the last 2 years than there has been in the whole history, as far as rural areas. They have been going out some but they can still go a long ways.

Now, small businesses, we don't get very much out of small businesses. Now, big businesses can get money, but our little, small business, when I am talking about a small business, it should range, oh, I'd say from a hundred thousand down in the business. Those businesses has a bad problem about getting loans, getting money, and we could stand quite a bit of help in that area in these rural areas. There is a great need for those small businesses.

On our road situations, we need a few—there is a few places we need some major roads, but a lot of it we need just some blacktop roads where the people can get in and out and kind of build those up some.

Our health problems, now, we need quite a bit on our health problems in these communities. They don't have water systems in a lot of places, unpure water. You take in these coal mining areas, there is quite a bit of that in coal mining areas. People, a lot of them, their water is not pure water and a lot of them have the problem of not enough water and there needs to be some help in this water situation. I think that home improvements of all kinds plumb out in the rural areas, I am talking about in the backwoods, these people that own their individual homes that can't fix them up and such as that, there is a great need for things of that kind in our area. And we have quite a bit of problems with all those things.

Like parks and recreation, we need some of those through there, for there is plenty of open space through there and a lot of beautiful country, a lot of mountain country through our area. Now, if we had some parks and recreation and could get some tourists in there it would create a lot of jobs for people, older people, and things that would help the whole community. You create a lot of leadership and planning in those things. There are great streams through that country. There could be some small parks and recreation areas, either private or public. We have a few hunting lodges around through there and some people come from far off and spend a little money. They work quite a few people around those places, and problems like that is our problems in a rural area.

The **Chairman**: Are you close to Crossville at all?

Mr. **Padgett**: Yes, sir, I am 22 miles from Crossville.

Mr. **Gay**: Mr. Chairman?

The **Chairman**: Yes, please, Mr. Gay.

Mr. **Gay**: He threw me there twice. L.B.J. & C., what does that mean?

Mr. **Padgett**: L.B.J. & C. Corporation, it is a corporation that was set up, it is Livingston, Jamestown, Birdstown, and Crossville.

Mr. **Gay**: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to say that his testimony has been most refreshing. He comes from one of the most beautiful parts of the world, I'll tell you that for sure, but he actually refreshes me. By his own testimony and in his own way he said "hurray for politicians, for leadership, for bureaucrats, for businessmen, and for tourists," and I must say that I haven't heard anybody say "hurray for leadership and hurray for bureaucrats." You know the bad bureaucrats are the ones up above us, the good ones are us on down, but I haven't heard anybody say anything good about politicians, leadership, bureaucrats, businessmen, and tourists in so long I want to shake your hand before you leave here.

The **Chairman**: Mr. King. Mr. King is a farmer from Illinois, Mr. Padgett.

Mr. **King**: I feel very close to you, and going on a little further with what Gay said, you touched on one of my favorite subjects. We farmers have been subsidizing your urban communities for generations with our better young people. You and I grew up, we always raised the bright boy to go to the city and make his way. Now, I know you and I can't change that, but one of the great strengths of the country has been those farm-bred boys and girls who have come in and been leaders in every phase of our economy and our social life. I don't think you and I here today can change that, but I think that is a direction to look, the leadership back, whether it is in northern Illinois or eastern Kentucky or Tennessee, pardon me, whichever it is. We need those boys; all of us here on this Commission, we out on our farms should encourage our intelligent, gifted young boys and girls to find places in our community to provide leadership. This is a long-range program. Would you agree to that or would you have a suggestion?

Mr. **Padgett**: Yes, sir. This farming, I think that—now, these part-time farmers and small farmers are very important in our whole country. I am speaking of the whole United States. You know, if a time was to hit like the thirties today, wouldn't this world be in an awful shape? But the more of these little part-time farmers, small-time farmers we have for the security of the United States, the better off we are. If you have a lot of little part-time farmers and small-time farmers, they take care of a lot of people that can't take care of themselves and they can teach a lot of these other people. And there is a lot of land, and you take those part-time farmers and small farmers, most of those people have got time to go out to their neighbor and if he don't know how to plant a garden to teach him to plant a garden and they will help him plant a garden, and I think there is a great need for such.

Mr. **King**: Would you advocate the man that works 40 hours a week living on the small farm? Putting our two phases of living together, to put our standard of living together, putting the two together, 40 hours a week in the factory—well, in our country we have a steel mill. The men work 40 hours a week and they live on 160 acres, and they can farm that 160 acres with the kind of tractor that most of the big farmers have discarded and traded in, and they are having a real fine standard of living. Do you go along with that phase of economic life?

Mr. **Padgett**: I suppose in your area that would work, but in my area, a part-time feller is a feller that's not able to farm full time. He's got to pick up jobs, not necessarily permanent, pick up jobs and get outside help to help out with the farming, is what I call a part-time farmer.

Mr. **King**: You are talking about a part-time, working farmer?

Mr. **Padgett**: That's right. What I am calling a part-time farmer is a man that's just starting out, has a little place, and he can't hardly make it without a little outside help and he works part of the time on other jobs.

Mr. **Stanley**: Mr. Padgett, I am from West Virginia, currently live there and have all my life, so I am, of course, familiar with coal mining, and also very sympathetic with a number of the problems you expressed. Earlier this week I had the opportunity to testify before the U.S. Senate Committee on an Appalachia Regional Development Act, and many of the things which you were saying here are, of course, or were portions of my testimony. I am interested in knowing, the record says you are an unemployed coal miner. What happened to the coal mines that you were working in?

Mr. **Padgett**: Well, the coal mines in our area, most of them are worked out, and they come so near working out it is costing so much to get the coal that they just shut down, went out of business. TVA was the biggest sale for the coal, and TVA coal is all played out; and you take coal mining, business is bad, very few people can really make a living in our area with the coal mines.

Mr. **Stanley**: Did you work in a large mine or a small mine?

Mr. **Padgett**: I am a jack-of-all-trades. I have worked in some large, mechanical mines and then I have worked in these little ground-hole hogs where you pull it with a mule. I have worked in the smallest up to a good size mine.

Mr. **Stanley**: You have mentioned training. Are there any training programs there at all?

Mr. **Padgett**: In our area?

Mr. **Stanley**: Yes.

Mr. **Padgett**: Oh, sure. We have a lot of training programs of different kinds through OEO, and in Overton County, L.B.J. & C. Development Corporation. It is set up for a five-county area, and we have a training school which is in Overton County, and, of course, Headstart. We have on-the-job training which we have a good program going in our area; as far as OEO and help like that, we have a great program going. What I was speaking of was something more convenient or concrete for the rural area, something to leave there when these here programs are gone.

Mr. **Stanley**: Have you taken any training yourself?

Mr. **Padgett**: No, sir. At the particular time I do carpenter, plumbing, and electrical wiring.

Mr. **Stanley**: You are not unemployed, you just aren't working in a coal mine?

Mr. **Padgett**: I am not unemployed. I have never drawn unemployment all my life.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I just want to make a comment, Mr. Padgett. No. 1, you didn't put your primary emphasis on your need for money from the Government. You didn't seem to think what we really need is money from Washington. You talked about the problems, and as I interpreted you, you seem to know the problems of the area and of your community, and I rather differ with you when you say you have no leadership, because it seems to me you represent a sort of understanding of the problems. And it is just a matter of getting some help maybe to formulate and activate it, but I think you modestly said there is no leadership.

Mr. PADGETT: Well, now, in our area we have a great need—leadership. Like I was speaking of the politicians, you get a lot of leadership and planning from politicians. I think all communities need leadership and we are short in the rural areas, which we have some leadership, and we may be as well off or better than some other areas, but we do have some leadership but we have a great need for other leadership.

Now, planning is one of our biggest problems. What few businessmen we that's capable of doing planning, they are busy on a lot of other things. You take most of the people in our area are willing to help the poor people as far as they can, but we've got so many and so much area that they can't furnish all the leadership and planning and we are in great need of that. And as far as giveaway, I am not too much on giveaway. I think people that's absolutely not able to work or can't take care of themselves, I believe in giving to them. I don't think you ought to short nobody like that, their small kids. But you take people that's able to go out to work, I don't think you ought to make it so handy, that they gotta work.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Padgett. We appreciate your help. As a town—I'm not a city man but as a town man—I want to thank you for some of the leadership we have gotten from Putnam County up in our part of the woods. We appreciate your help very much in speaking about these problems.

I would like to recognize and introduce Mr. Hosea Lockard who is the assistant to the Governor of Tennessee.

Mr. Lockard, thank you very much for coming.

Our next witness is Mrs. Catherine Barlow of Ripley, Tenn.

Mrs. Barlow, we are glad to have you come. Would you tell us first just a little bit about yourself, your family, and then proceed with your statement?

STATEMENT OF CATHERINE BARLOW

Mrs. BARLOW: I am Mrs. Catherine Barlow, mother of 13 children, and I have lived in Lauderdale County all of my life.

The problems in Lauderdale County of west Tennessee are many. I will just relate a few of them to you.

The welfare programs seem to be designed to keep the people more dependent. When you are able to work, you can only work maybe just a few days at $3 or $4 per day, and if more your payment is cut, the welfare checks will be cut. We also need better government on that welfare program to let those that are able to help themselves at least go out and make enough days to extend their welfare pay to keep them from just living in poverty off of the welfare pay. The checks are small and it doesn't take care of the many needs that prevail to a family.

The caseworkers go out and more or less they ask whether or not you have TV or a radio instead of finding out your main needs after being on the welfare program. We also need in Lauderdale County—it is hard to acquire welfare aid. You have to most times have a certain Mr. X or Mrs. X to go out and say, "Well, this man or woman needs welfare aid and let them on." Because if you go just on your own, most times when you reach the age when you need welfare assistance and go on your own you have to have very definite proof that you are in need, and then you maybe have to make many, many trips before you even get a placement on the program.

It is very difficult, because so many times people go and go and go, and then they just give up, and that leaves that person very much in poverty, and there should be something done about that.

Now, next would be our employment system. Our employment system has been very much, too. They are building some factories, small factories there in Lauderdale County to replace some of our farm labor. Our farm labor is getting scarce, and the factories, there hasn't been any training in Lauderdale County to help assist in getting those jobs. And you have got to meet certain requirements, oftentimes tests that you don't even use after you get on the job, you don't even use those tests, and that's very difficult, too. There are so many times those little things you have to work with, they are not even in the requirements.

We need a better adult training program so that adult people can apply for these jobs and get them. Discrimination holds back a lot of them from being had, too. We also find that unless you are known there by a certain Mr. X, someone who is more in priority, you don't get a job, even though your requirements are up. In the small towns, as Lauderdale County is consisted of, no trained people have been there to train the untrained, and it is very hard.

Now, on our health situation in Lauderdale County, the poor people have to suffer very much, because most times they are out too far from doctors, and doctors don't make much visitation of homes now. And unless you have your hospital fees, which are very high, and without a situation for jobs, most of the poor and especially the Negroes are not able to get in the hospitals and get medical care that they need. And if you'd search the records there you'd find it very much so that those things are really needed.

We also have in our area, our rural government is under a tight situation. The most reason for the extension of poverty in most of the rural areas is geared by big landowners, and all that is not in their interest is slightly considered. A real portion is needed by our courts for health facilities, education facilities, so that an entire better job opportunity is available, and the court is usually not concerned.

Lauderdale County, the court is made up of about 65 magistrates and most of those men are big landowners. The poor have to pay a great high tax on small properties of land, while most of the landowners get around, those big landowners get around without coming up to par on their tax. That also keeps the poor in poverty. They have no desire for poor to be employed. It is an unwritten law that if all of the poor people are employed there will be no one left around to do odd jobs. If they hire the maids for the housework, it is hard for a lady to get a job because if she has been working for some Mr. X or Mrs. X, they are known at these factories and more or less are told not to be hired. So, if they miss the employment at that rate, why, that keeps them in poverty, because it keeps the poor from doing as much for themselves as they could, or at least they are trying to. The core of much of why there is such widespread poverty in rural areas is that the poor have no voice in their affairs, due either to past obligation or to those who make the law. They depend completely on themselves, and after going out asking for jobs they are told, "We are not hiring today." And maybe as soon as you turn your back, why, they'll hire maybe another Mr. X and Mrs. X, but yet the poor Negroes most times are turned down.

If we could get into that area and find someone to set up a training school to help the unemployed—we more or less need Federal money to establish a school. And in that case if we had this Federal school where they have adult training, maybe some training in the day, because they have day and night jobs, and some could take training in the day and go on the job at night and those that work at night could take this training in the day.

We also need a day care center for working parents and we need a regular kindergarten. We have some kindergarten, Headstart program, but children that come in, four or five years old, have no educational systems, because in regular Headstart you are supposed to be six or coming six so you can enter school at the end of this class, this summer Headstart. And we have so many that are not able to send those children to the Headstart for lack of clothing or other disabilities. So many times they live too far from a bus route, you know, for one or two children, maybe back on some county road, to get to the bus stop. So those children are left out for that reason.

We also need better government. Most times people are placed in our local government handling surplus commodities and different things like that, and if you don't maybe pick Mr. or Mrs. X cotton or something you are cut off. We have that in our rural system distributing surplus commodities. Many people were cut off just because they didn't help a certain somebody.

The CHAIRMAN: May I ask how old your youngest child is?

Mrs. BARLOW: My youngest child is 3 years old.

The CHAIRMAN: How many boys and how many girls?

Mrs. BARLOW: I have nine boys and four girls.

The CHAIRMAN: That's a sizable crop. Thank you very much, Mrs. Barlow.

Are there questions? Mr. Davis.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: This is just for clarification. You spoke of the county court. Is that what in some places is called a quorum court, and the members are called magistrates?

Mrs. BARLOW: Yes, most of the magistrates, they have a county judge, the magistrates, they have three magistrates in Lauderdale County.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Don't the people elect them, do the colored people?

Mrs. BARLOW: Yes, and most of the time they are reelected because a Mr. X or Mrs. X will help you get a certain thing, then that makes most Negroes go out and encourage——

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS (interrupting): In other words, your vote isn't a free vote?

Mrs. BARLOW: It is supposed to be a free vote. Nobody goes around and makes you a list, but just for fear.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: It is considered in your best interest to vote the way certain people want you to vote?

Mrs. **Barlow**: Yes.

Mrs. **Jackson**: I didn't understand the difference you said that was made in the tax structure.

Mrs. **Barlow**: Well, in most cases it has been proven that large landowners were not paying the complete amount of tax, where small plots of land that people own are having to pay higher tax.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Does this court set the tax or is there a tax assessor?

Mrs. **Barlow**: We have a tax assessor.

The **Chairman**: And the tax rate would be set by the State or county?

Mrs. **Barlow**: That's right.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. **Gibson**: Mrs. Barlow, you mentioned something about the commodities being tied into employment.

Mrs. **Barlow**: Yes.

Mr. **Gibson**: Would you explain that, elaborate on that just a little?

Mrs. **Barlow**: Well, what I meant on that, now, they have these stamps, the stamp program is in Lauderdale County now, but then at that particular time they had the commodities. And if you stayed on the big landowner's place, why, this certain somebody would make sure that you would get these commodities. Otherwise you had to go several times or more unless you didn't get on at all. No matter what size family you had and actually you were in need, you were just left out.

Mr. **Gibson**: So, it sounds to me that that sort of situation means that the landowners were, in effect, controlling the Federal surplus food program?

Mrs. **Barlow**: I would think so.

The **Chairman**: Mrs. Caldwell.

Mrs. **Caldwell**: How is the stamp program working?

Mrs. **Barlow**: Well, at the present the stamp program is doing much better, but in some instances, a family of 10, I think it is, has to pay as much as— Depending on if you are a farmer or a day worker, there is a difference in the rate of how much you have to pay, and a family of my size where there is 13 and 2 working, if you make up to $350 you can't get any stamps, if you make $350 a month.

Mrs. **Caldwell**: What about people that don't have regular income, that don't have money, what do they do?

Mrs. **Barlow**: Most people have to have some type of income. If it is welfare, you have to pay $24 a month for two to get about $48 worth of stamps.

Mrs. **Caldwell**: Do the people like this program?

Mrs. **Barlow**: Well, most of them like it and some of them don't. Some of them don't agree with it.

The **Chairman**: Any other questions?

Mr. **Gallegos**: I have a question.

You said that the caseworkers are not very helpful when they come in. Do you find that part of the problem is that they don't give you enough help with respect to helping you to—well, not necessarily you, but others whom you may know—do you find that they don't help direct families to, say, training opportunities or to help you in counseling you in terms of how you can help keep your children in school, or help you to avoid falling into the trap of paying too much, or that kind of help? And do you find that there is—do they put pressure on the people receiving public welfare to get off of welfare when there is a need to harvest the crops? Do you find that there is pressure put on a mother who has young children to get out and work, rather than staying home? What kind of attitude do they take?

Mrs. BARLOW: Well, it is quite so, I would call it a pressure, because there are young mothers that could be working and would be better off if they were working if they could get out and earn and had some way of earning a portion of their living. They don't help you too much in ways or means to better yourself, and that would be a great help.

Mr. GALLEGOS: You indicated there is a need for day care centers?

Mrs. BARLOW: Yes, sir.

Mr. GALLEGOS: Which sometimes limits a young mother to leave her children?

Mrs. BARLOW: If they had some place to leave their children they would seek employment.

The CHAIRMAN: They would seek employment in factories or where?

Mrs. BARLOW: In factories, most so.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mrs. Barlow. It has been very good of you to come. We appreciate your being here and you have been a real help. Thank you very much.

Mrs. BARLOW: Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we can just take a few minutes' rest. We will reconvene at 10:15.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will ask you please to be seated. This is one of the difficulties with a recess, people like to extend it.

Our next witness is Mr. James Carter of Newbern, Ala. Is he here?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hodding Carter, editor, Greenville newspaper, Greenville, Miss.

Mr. Carter, we welcome you.

STATEMENT OF HODDING CARTER III

Mr. CARTER: My name is Hodding Carter III, actually, to differentiate. I am the editor of the Delta Democrat Times in Greenville, Miss. I am also a member of the board of directors of Mississippi Action for Progress, which is a statewide antipoverty organization in Mississippi.

Greenville is located on the Mississippi River, about 150 miles south of Memphis, and Mississippi in itself forms the Delta region, the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region of the State of Mississippi.

The conditions I want to discuss this morning are those of that Delta. I understand that you have heard from several other people from the Delta. I hope I don't cover too much of the same territory.

The Delta is a flat and incredibly fertile alluvial plain which contains approximately 600,000 people today. A majority of them live in equally incredible poverty in towns of 5,000 people or less, or in the country, and most of them depended upon agriculture for a living until the very recent past.

I do not claim to be an expert on rural or urban poverty, but I am enough of a newspaperman to know a crisis when it surrounds me. Today the Delta is surrounded by an economic and social crisis, and its chief ingredients are the hopelessness and helplessness of tens of thousands of people. Much of what follows is a grim, often dry recital of fact.

Statistics too often tend to obscure the reality they portray; and when the statistics are as overwhelming as these, they are often shunted into a convenient pigeonhole and forgotten. These must not be ignored, for the good of the Delta, the State and the Nation, let alone that of the people involved.

I live in Washington County, the most prosperous county in the Delta, but in Washington County in 1960, according to the census, 48.8 percent of all the families had incomes of less than $3,000 a year, and those families contained over two-thirds of the county's total population. Of the persons 25 years or older, almost 50 percent had not received 8 years of education. Almost 50 percent of all the houses in this county were substandard, and they again held over two-thirds of all the people.

I should note here that while the census figures quoted are 8 years old, there is no reason to believe the conditions are significantly better today. On the contrary, for the usual—for the average agricultural worker—employment conditions are worse, although a small minority of skilled or semiskilled workers are enjoying benefits today which were unknown in 1960.

Returning to the census, it indicated that in 1960 some 63 percent of all the families in the Delta had incomes of less than $3,000 annually; 27 percent had incomes below $1,000 a year. The census figures also establish an unemployment rate of around 7 percent, but in March of last year a labor survey by the Mississippi Employment Security Commission and Mississippi State University established an unemployment rate for Washington County and two surrounding counties of over 18 percent. There is reason to believe that both figures understated the real problem, while the latter, 18 percent, definitely did not exaggerate it.

There is one immediately apparent reason for the sharp drop in employment in the 6-year period, and that is farm mechanization. The growing use of tractors, pickers, and the like, combined with chemical herbicides, sharply reduce the need for hand labor in the Delta. However, I want to add that this is not a new process of the last 6 years, though it is a suddenly discovered one; it has been continuing for some 15 years. It alone does not account solely for what has occurred.

A second reason, and perhaps more important, which came into play only last year, was a one-third reduction in cotton acreage allotment. Thus the Mississippi State Employment Service reported that in the three-county area mentioned earlier, that is, Washington and the two surrounding ones, agricultural employment in October of 1966 was 21 percent less than in October of 1965, one year earlier.

Figures compiled by Delta Council, the areawide promotion and development organization, tell much the same story. In 1960, Delta farms employed 30,510 seasonal laborers in the spring. This figure is for 18 all-Delta or part-Delta counties. In 1966 this had been cut by almost 50 percent to 16,571 persons. In the same period, of the total number of seasonal laborers in the spring, in 1960 the number was 18,980 day-haul, that is, better than 50 percent of the seasonal laborers that year were day-haul. This term covers those workers transported from town or community to farm in the morning and back to town again at the end of day. But in 1966 there were only 5,765 day-haul laborers being utilized on the farms, which means that over 13,000 people no longer had this part-time employment.

Finally, the total number of man-days recorded for farm labor in the spring period dropped from 480,265 in 1960 to 127,193 in 1966. As for fall agricultural labor, seasonal, it has virtually disappeared, since over 90 percent of the total cotton crop was machine picked last year, and much of the remaining 10 percent was simply a matter of allowing a few people to pick it if they wished to do so.

On the other side, industrial employment, starting from a very low base, showed marked increase during this period. The base is what is important, however. It jumped from 6,000 jobs in 1956 to 12,000 jobs in 1962; to 27,942 jobs in 1966. But every bit of evidence available shows that few of the displaced farmworkers were among those who obtained the new jobs. A 1964 report by the employment service, Mississippi Employment Service, gives a partial explanation, factors of racial discrimination aside. Speaking of the day-haul crews, the report said that it was "a grand work force, made up mostly of grandchildren and grandparents." The crews were composed largely of women, elderly males, and very young workers when schools were not in session and, it should be added, too often when schools were in session. Mississippi has no compulsory school attendance law. Male workers between 20 and 40 years of age were and are a rarity in the crews. "Therefore, this work force could not with any reasonable degree of success be absorbed into nonagricultural employment," the report said.

The 1960 census said that of the rural Negroes still living in the Delta, 71 percent were under 19 or over 55. This was an increase since 1950 of 9 percent in these age groups. During the same 10-year period, 97 percent of the increase in urban Negro population in the Delta was in the under 14 and over 65 age groups.

What emerges is not the profile of a work force easily adapted to industrial employment, if such employment existed. By age and by previous experience, it faces incredible handicaps. By education, the same is true.

Three days ago the new extensions of the Federal minimum wage law went into effect. The short-range implications of their impact on the Delta's poor are frightening, or perhaps disastrous would be a better word. At this point I would like to quote verbatim from a report recently compiled by the Mississippi Research and Development Center, since it summarizes the situation precisely.

Quoting now:

> It is conservatively estimated that as a result of this legislation approximately 11,000 wage-earning farm laborers in the 11-county Delta area alone will be cut off this winter and spring from the limited employment and income

they have had. Many will likely have to leave their present locations on the plantations where they have lived.

The ramifications of this problem cannot be overstated. The lives of an estimated fifty to sixty thousand people are involved. Since the pattern of plantation life also involved such "fringe" benefits as a house, a garden plot, some medical care and some credit at the store, the impact is clearly one of family crisis and in many cases serious suffering.

It should also be noted that commonly accepted social security mechanisms to cushion employment displacement, unemployment insurance and public welfare, general assistance will not come into play in this area because these workers will not be eligible for coverage or because coverage is only marginal. To further aggravate the problem, the shift in food distribution programs from surplus commodities to food stamps will work an additional handicap, since most of these families will lack even the minimal cash amount necessary to purchase the stamps. In the reasoned opinion of leaders of both races in Mississippi—

or I should say in the Delta—

the elements of an impending crisis pervade the Delta.

Despite inconsistencies in current employment and income information, unemployment can be approximated by extrapolating to the surrounding area the findings of the three-county labor survey. Assuming 18 percent of the labor force is unemployed and that the labor force is 30 percent of the area's population, compared with 34 percent for Mississippi and 37 percent for the United States, current unemployment is estimated to be 11,885 for the six-county area immediately surrounding Washington County. Negroes comprise 90 percent of the unemployed. To this number must be added those jobs to be lost in consequence of the minmum wage law, estimated by knowledgeable persons in the area to be more than 1,000 jobs per county.

Based on these estimates—

and I want to say right here, forgive me for jumping from six-county to eleven-county to eighteen-county and back, but I found no other way to put this information together than what was available.

Based on these estimates, it is expected that unemployment will reach 18,000 in the six-county area and 32,000 in the eleven-county area before the spring of this year. Unfortunately, these wage earners are from the group having the largest families, averaging more than six persons per household. In addition to the unemployed, a significant proportion of the employed have incomes of less than $1,000 per year. Extrapolation again of the labor survey results to the six-county area, the number of those employed that are earning less than a thousand per year is estimated to be over 4,000 wage earners. The compelling urgency of providing subsistence alone for over 20,000 families is abundantly clear. This subsistence can be in the form of welfare assistance or in the form of jobs, but it must be provided if the possibilities of further large-scale out-migration, which is merely transferring the problem, hunger and deprivation, and civil disorder are to be minimized.

There was one final point made in the R and D survey which I think is important. STAR, Inc., which is an OEO adult literacy training program in the study, has conducted tests which point to the possibility that over 20 percent of the poverty population, which is the vast majority of the Delta's population, has perceptible motor dysfunction problems. Physical screening examinations given by other poverty agencies in the area have revealed an extremely high number of severe health problems, ranging from massive hernias to pernicious anemia.

Facilities for health service are limited, as is personnel. Obviously a significant proportion of the population will require remedial physical and mental health treatment, as well as special educational and vocational training in order to equip them with marketable skills.

This is where the Delta stands today. With the added fact, perhaps too obvious to mention, that the long-delayed social revolution of Negro Americans adds its own dimensions to the problem of finding a solution, political problems within the State, political problems and economic problems within each region, but there can be no progress in one field without progress in the other. But what is to be done about the immediate pressing economic crisis is hard to determine, although whatever is to be done must be done quickly.

Without being able to go into any great detail, these occur to me. There can be no delay in recognizing that there is a large number of older men and women in the Delta for whom there is no possible future in an industrial, mechanized, urban society. Forced off the land, while possessing neither education nor work skills, from jobs which barely supported them, into an environment which cannot support them at all, they must be guaranteed the basic necessities of life. This is a function of government which government must accept immediately.

For the younger generation of the rural poor or those only recently among the rural poor, but now living in towns, intensive catch-up education must be offered. This would do no more than acknowledge that another generation will be lost unless something is done now, and that something must include systematic, thorough education for as long as it is possible for them to take. For the young and middle-aged adults from the poverty group that still live in the Delta, and this is the smallest group, comprehensive redevelopment training, going far beyond the simple concept of job-skill education, is demanded, while vastly improved public health services are a necessity for everyone.

To repeat, I cannot pose as an expert when it comes to posing answers. I only know that to most of the people who live in my section of the nation the phrase "an affluent society" is totally meaningless or a hollow joke. Present government efforts from the State, local, and National level are not adequate to do the job, but it is to government that we must look for a solution.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Carter. We had some statements yesterday which made part of the problems, I would say, quite clear, and you have added explicit information which is—I'd say it is very difficult for anyone to deal with.

I am sure the Commissioners will have some questions.

Mr. Gay first, please.

Mr. GAY: First of all, I am glad to meet you, Mr. Carter. I know you by a lot of reasons and your illustrious father.

I have been living off and on in the Washington area for about 24 years, and I have been somewhat of a student, just as a hobby, of legislative delegations. In watching them, I have seen your delegation come and go from Mississippi. I have heard all of their arguments to why a lot of things that you and your father have said over the years are not true. You know: these people are no damn good; you see one, you have seen them all; they won't work for a living, they are shiftless, they ought to move out; and all of the legislation has been against Mississippi, all the Federal legislation. I have heard every argument that your delegation has given.

Is that getting any better in Mississippi? What is the hope for change in the attitude from the Mississippi delegation? I am not picking on them per se, I am a Southerner too, and we've got some from our State just like I am, but is it getting any better? Is there any hope that it is going to get any better before this catastrophic situation engulfs a large number of your people further?

Mr. Carter: Well, there are two answers, I think. I would say purely politically, that is, what our representatives will be saying is not going to get immediately better, simply because the political balance has not changed enough yet for them to speak in a different way.

On the other hand, within the—to use a term I don't care for—but within the power structure of the State, there is, I would say, a very real awareness now that the State as a whole goes nowhere without the State together going somewhere, that this business of half good and half bad is all bad now. I think there is a great deal of awareness now in the leadership group that we are not catching up in any way, and that it is a simple economic fact of life that we cannot continue on a course of the past in relation to the Negro, in relation to the poor.

However, despite much theory to the contrary, the power structure does not run the politician. The votes for the politicians still come from the people who are as far removed from the chamber of commerce, as far removed from any knowledge of the larger economic issues as many of the people in the poverty group themselves and the Negro group. And until there is a bigger political base which has power, on the one hand, and is aware of certain basic economic facts, on the other, our politicians, I think, are going to continue to fight it or attempt to subvert many purposes of these programs.

Mr. Gay: Are we 10 years away in Mississippi?

Mr. Carter: No, sir, I would hope it would be less than one more election away.

Mr. Neil Davis: What is happening Negro voter registrationwise in the Delta? Is there a big push?

Mr. Carter: I hesitate at this point to speak as an expert again, but I do notice that after a gap of a year or more in real intensive voter registration activity, that organizations such as the Negro Democratic Party are going into systematic voter registration and voter education work this year. I think that the lag in that over the last 2 years has been disastrous in many ways, because it has been——

Mr. Neil Davis (interrupting): I was going to ask you if voter education was following right behind registration.

Mr. Carter: Well, it is very important that it does, if for no other reason than we have seen other elections in other parts of the South demonstrate that merely having people on the books is a meaningless thing.

Mr. Neil Davis: Such as in Alabama recently?

Mr. Carter: Exactly, and that unless there becomes some education to what the process is all about, there is at least some feeling that you have done all there is to do when you go down to register. I also think it is very important this education go on, simply because it will be the only guarantee we'll have against some transient issue becoming the only issue.

The Chairman: Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Carter, we have those people there, that's something we can't get away from regardless of your political structure or any other type of structure that you have. Is it feasible for the Federal Government to come in and to buy up tracts of land and build some housing units on them and work with these people on that basis, maybe bringing in small industry that the Federal Government themselves would buy from? We have a tremendous problem not only in your hometown, but in a lot of our areas, and we are talking about people and about humans, and the responsibility of our National Government to these people. Is that a solution or is that a possibility?

Mr. CARTER: I think a question of housing and training can be very meaningful if the housing settlement is not seen as an end product, that is to say, if people are not going to stop there. If the housing center is placed so that the family as a whole comes, and the family is trained toward some end for which there is a market, for which there is a need for whatever they are being trained, and then they get out, I think this is good. I think the concept of creating permanent new towns of displaced people simply means we are creating new town slums for 20 years from now. I think there has got to be the question of a constant turnover and training process. Now, I am talking now of the young group or the middle-age group.

The older age group, I see nothing whatsoever but to provide a place to live, provide enough food to live on and a few of the basic necessities, and after that I think it is—I don't mean we shouldn't try. I simply say I think the odds are all against us doing any more than that.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. GALLEGOS: Would you go into the statement regarding the imminent hardship that is anticipated with the implementation of the new minimum wage levels and the fact that many workers are probably going to lose some of the fringes that they have had—garden plots, housing. Now, are these workers who are employed by large farmers or are these marginal farmers who have to pick up the slack by absorbing the houses and rent?

Mr. CARTER: I will give an example of what I am thinking about, and I will think about a big farm now which would be the one that you might expect to carry it more.

The family of a tractor driver who may now be making the minimum wage or a little more may include some eight people. Now, the minimum wage that he was getting as a tractor driver really was not sufficient for a family of eight people, but each one of those other members of the family could, during chopping season or during picking season, go out and make a few hundred dollars. It might have been enough to buy the clothes for the kids to go to school, it might have been something no more than that. That kind of labor for that kind of family is going to be eliminated by the minimum wage law.

It simply makes no economic sense whatsoever for the planter to allow this labor to continue at a dollar an hour. The efficiency level is just below that cost.

This is one side.

There is, then, insofar as large numbers of on-farm—well, that's on-farm seasonal labor. Off-farm seasonal labor, the minimum wage implementation simply is going to push whatever farmers remain to be pushed over the line into full mechanization. There is always

178

that line somewhere where the two intersect as to the cost of buying the equipment and the cost of using hand labor, and this simply pushes again a number of people past that line.

I had better not go much further than that, because I will be pretending I know more than I do know.

The Chairman: Mr. Davis, please.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Mr. Carter, my question relates to two things that you have talked about. One is with respect to voting and registration. Is there a lessening of the resistance against Negro registration and Negroes exercising the right for the ballot? That is one.

The other is, do the—I hate to use the term, too—does the power structure have an awareness of the acute nature of this problem, and do you think that they will finally agree to help do something about it?

Mr. Carter: I would say that the overt forms of repression on voter registration are lessened considerably. I don't think that the process becomes that much easier thereby, however. In some ways it may not at all, because that pressure to some degree formed the kind of community solidarity which would inspire a number of people to go down and take this great step. Now it is harder to mobilize a number of people, but I think it should be easier now. I believe it is.

The second question was whether I think that the leadership, the power structure, so-called, is now concerned enough to do something. I think much of it is that concern. I think there is still a debate going on to what doing something involves. I am afraid that for many of us we are still going to have to be shown that this is going to be as bad as it seems. This, I'm afraid, is part of human nature, whether it is the Delta or anywhere else.

The Chairman: Mr. Stanley.

Mr. Stanley: Mr. Carter, my questions relate to the income maintenance comments. One question you have already answered partially, at least in regard to the minimum wage causing unemployment. I believe the figure was about 1,000.

Mr. Carter: Per county.

Mr. Stanley: The second part of it relates to the social insurance aspects of the problem. Implicit in your statement was that the public welfare benefits were marginal, too low, too difficult to obtain, et cetera. The other part related to unemployment compensation.

Now, did you mean to indicate that you felt that there should be a method devised whereby these workers could be covered by unemployment compensation as are workers in other industries?

Mr. Carter: I think that either that or some alternative which someone else would have to devise would have to be found. This was, after all, a labor force—this was a labor force that was employed; it is a labor force that is now unemployed. I think that by any category except the legal ones they would fit under the question of unemployment compensation. They do not, of course, fit now.

Mr. Stanley: And you would advocate an amendment——

Mr. Carter (interrupting): I would advocate that, but again I want to rush to add that I am not qualified to go into the specifics beyond a general thought. I would hesitate to, but, yes, on that specific question.

Mr. Stanley: How about the principles of organizing collective bargaining?

Mr. Carter: Let me speak to that very quickly. I would say I am strongly for the principles of organizing collective bargaining. I think in a labor surplus situation to believe that you are going to create very much through organizing collective bargaining, and when you have hardly the need for the labor which exists, let alone to worry enough about having to dicker with an organized bargaining unit, I think that would be a waste of effort and time at this moment. I think that at the point in which the farm labor picture is rationalized down to it being, what it is fast becoming, that is, the skilled or semiskilled worker who is not in high supply, that might be another question; but the idea of what will farm labor strike for, the jobs that don't exist, what to bargain for, and this is as a matter of fact what happened to the farm labor strike of a year and a half ago, 2 years ago. There were always three hands for every one who walked off a place, and some white hands when there weren't Negro hands for those jobs.

The Chairman: Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gibson: Mr. Carter, I find it very difficult to be objective or dispassionate when discussing conditions that you have outlined for us. I admire you and a number of people I have met in Mississippi who are working on this and I consider it one of the most difficult areas in which to carry on day to day because we start from so far back, both as a nation and as a people there.

I would be very interested in your comments regarding the kind of alleviative efforts that could and probably will come forth to meet the crisis which you have outlined. Now, I ask you to comment on this in the face of the kind of information which we have which gives evidence of the very strong ties between welfare systems in those counties and the landowners, the relationships of those programs themselves—the staffs of those programs, the landowning class—to the atmosphere of racial hostility which characterizes that particular part of the country, the Department of Agriculture programs, the other kinds of Federal programs which are decentralized into these various areas and therefore reflect the local sentiments, concerns, and traditional inabilities to deal with the needs of the population which you have been talking to us about. Would you please talk about that?

Mr. Carter: Well, again, you ask me a very broad question, but I would say on the one hand you continue knocking just as hard as you can at every political door, because in the Delta over 60 percent of the population is Negro. There are some obvious remedies for some of this, assuming that there is enough time and energy devoted into this.

Now, as a matter of fact, there have been some elections to some of these Federal positions which you are talking about, in which there have been some changes. I believe Mr. Moore was here from Bolivar County yesterday. His organization has control of at least a part of the antipoverty pie in that county.

The Chairman: You mean he is part of the power structure?

Mr. Carter: I think there are similar examples. This is not an easy process, it is not an easy process whenever the sharing of power is demanded. I can only say yes to your question; I mean, yes, that it is very true that right now there is a utilization of many Federal programs in certain parts of the Delta to maintain the way things are. I would say this, that if those programs at this point simply make sure that nobody is starving, while a lot of the other work is going on, that will at least have been more than the absence of those programs under anybody's control would have done.

Mr. **Gibson**: I want to ask whether even that is likely to occur in equal measure to the kind of problem, the size of the problem? Is there going to be the extension of welfare maintenance to this population?

Mr. **Carter**: I'd answer that question by saying I believe so, for a number of reasons, one of them just simply being that the dependence of the Delta on agriculture pure and simple is diminishing, and there are going to be further cutbacks in areas like cotton, and there is a very real awareness that there has got to be more and more utilization of the industrial alternative. Well, there is a very limited pool of manpower, and whatsoever that's white have pure self-interest on the part of people who want to keep making it. That is going to dictate some of these changes in terms of saying that these programs really do get to the point they are supposed to be or are reaching people they should reach.

I would like to mention something, speaking of the Research and Development Center, if I have a minute, because it is putting together what I hope is a very significant and very comprehensive package involving five Federal agencies, perhaps one foundation, State and local cooperation, all aimed at this six-county area around Washington County, everything from a test project for families under intensive care, up to 200 families being treated as units, to extension service education of a technical sort involving some of the more, well, obvious tools such as ETV, this sort of thing, and a whole other package all emanating from Greenville, and it may prove whether any of this can work at all under the intensive 100-family unit, 25-family unit package. And I want to add, the State Research and Development Center, it is totally dedicated to seeing to it that this particular group that we are talking about does, in fact, get out, get out from under, and I have absolutely no questions about that whatsoever.

The **Chairman**: Who is directing this program?

Mr. **Carter**: Dr. Kenneth Wagner.

The **Chairman**: Under what auspices?

Mr. **Carter**: Under the State Research and Development Center. He was formerly in Georgia running a similar operation, and came to the State, I think, because it posed such a great challenge in Mississippi, and it is a very unique operation.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Are there Negro staff members involved or Negro workers?

Mr. **Carter**: There are going to be a number of Negro workers involved. In fact, the major phase of this operation is going to be a subcontracted operation to—well, whoever, but there is a very, very great awareness of this. As a matter of fact, I think this program has been walked by and through virtually every organization in the State, and I mean every organization in the State.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Ford has a question.

Mr. **Ford**: Mr. Carter, you mentioned the development of industrial employment from about 6,000 jobs in 1956 to nearly 28,000 in 1966. Where did these workers come from?

Mr. **Carter**: Well, again I don't want to say there were no Negroes because, in fact, there have been a growing number of Negroes employed in these industries. But two points there. Obviously most of the people employed will be those just out of high school or right in that age bracket of 17 to 25, 17 to 30. Because Mississippi is not a heavily industrialized State, we experience a great deal of immigration from the hill section. That's where much of our industrial labor came from. In the last 2 years there have been more and more Negro industrial workers in the Delta since the operation of the act, but 27,000 jobs involving mostly young people simply doesn't go to the question of the real problem.

Mr. Gay: Mr. Carter, may I inquire of your father, please? This is a personal thing.

Mr. Carter: He is very fine. He is a writer in residence at Tulane.

Mr. Ford: One follow-up question. I have worked with labor statistics enough to know they are pretty sticky to deal with, and something I am a little unclear about, where you mentioned or anticipate that about 11,000 people will be unemployed. Now, this doesn't equate with 11,000 full-time jobs or full-time equivalent jobs, I would assume. You earlier mentioned your "grand labor force" here. How many really full-time employment jobs do you think that would boil down to?

Mr. Carter: Not that many. I would say less than 50 percent. The secret of a lot of these statistics and the apparent disparities is also involved in this, that the employment service has very rarely dealt with the question of underemployment at all. The survey in 1966 finally came closer to dealing with that, the special survey then, than it had before; but no, these are not year-round, nonseasonal workers. A lot of them, it is just simply a question that they have enough to eat.

The Chairman: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: We have been talking here about the urgent, pressing problem of what is going to happen in the immediate future. For a moment, would you react to the question that we have to face in the long run? What is your impression of—given the rate at which people are being pushed off and out of the farm economy and the rural sector in the sense of being gainfully employed, by minimum wages or changes in technology or whatnot—the rate at which this is happening relative to the rate at which Mississippi is industrializing and creating new job opportunities? Are these people, not only the 20,000 families whom we were focusing on here a few moments ago, but statewide, in general, over the next 5 to 10 years—what future do these people have? Are we going to have to solve the problem by migration out to job opportunities, or can we find those within the State of Mississippi?

Mr. Carter: There is every reason to believe that the answer can be found in Mississippi, insofar as its potential, insofar as everything except the basic educational understanding, skill, and other levels of this great number of our people. There is no solution in any case in migration.

Mr. Bonnen: Yes, I realize that.

Mr. Carter: I mean if the people who are leaving are in this status.

Mr. Bonnen: But given your training and education——

Mr. Carter (interrupting): Given the training and education, I see no reason why they can't and won't be utilized inside the State. All the trend, as a matter of fact, is away from this mass migration of the past, and when it does occur, it is less and less occurring into the major urban areas outside the South, but usually into the urban areas closest to the point at which they jumped off, and I am saying like Greenville, Miss., considering it an urban area.

Mr. **Bonnen**: You are saying there has been a major change in the migration pattern?

Mr. **Carter**: Yes, I think there definitely has.

The **Chairman**: One more question. Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Neil Davis**: Mr. Carter, some places where we have been and where we have heard witnesses speak of the so-called poverty programs, community action programs, and so on, the whole thing seems to have been frustrated in some cases where the need was the greatest. There are no such programs. I gather that a lot of this can be laid at the doorstep of the—well, in some instances, the Governor.

What is the situation in Mississippi? Does the State political leadership sort of look "jaundiced eyed" at community action programs, or does the State leadership encourage the establishment of these programs?

Mr. **Carter**: I would say that the present State leadership in Mississippi encourages the community action program being initiated by people who are favorable to the present State leadership. But yes, I mean there is a complete difference in the last 3 years. In the last 3 years there has been a great radical shift in attitude on that. There was initially fighting it, now there is a different, more sophisticated approach.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Johnson.

Mr. **Johnson**: I want to ask him one other question, Mr. Chairman, that I can't get away from in my own thinking, which I shouldn't project here.

These people we are talking about in your State and other States have come off of the farm. They will come off of the farm because of new mechanical processes of farming, plus new and old Government programs which have sustained the big operation. Now, then, there has been a lot of thought from time to time whether or not we shouldn't remove these Government programs for the big operators and big cooperative-type farming and put it back on the family-type farm. Now, is it your thinking that if the Government removed their support on these big operators, will there be more land available for some of these fellows to go back as tenant farmers or as small homeowners? Is that going to be our answer?

Mr. **Carter**: I have heard this argued both ways. I frankly don't know. My own impression—my own impression without knowing, out of pure ignorance—is that you have a process underway now which would not take merely permissive Government actions or the reverse, but explicitly—well, it would take explicit Government action.

Mr. **Gay**: Land reform?

Mr. **Carter**: Yes.

Mr. **Johnson**: Isn't that what you are going to come to in the future, anyway, under our present policy now—land reform?

Mr. **Gay**: You said that, he didn't.

Mr. **Carter**: I can't speak for that.

The **Chairman**: Mrs. Caldwell, one Mississippian.

Mrs. **Caldwell**: One of the things that concerns me so greatly is what can we hope for the children that we have currently receiving assistance or not receiving it because of the kind of policies as to their living arrangements and one thing and another. What can we hope for the future unless through some means we are able to give these kids a chance, I mean food and clothing and an opportunity to go to school, and to live. The present ADC grant, even if you get it in Mississippi, is right around $9 a month per child, and that's everything, and to me this is, as we talk about the future, this is one spot that, call it what you will, welfare or whatever, to me is the lives of children and the whole future of our country.

Mr. Carter: I think that there are very few people in this whole field who don't feel strongly that if there is a question on priorities, it is twofold. One, to keep from absolute want those who are already above a certain age; but, perhaps even more important, to save now an entire new generation from going down the same road. And I can only agree with you, yes.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Carter, you have been a very fine witness and most enlightening to us in regard to these problems. We appreciate your coming.

Mr. Carter: Thank you, sir.

The Chairman: The next witness is Mr. Louis Twomey, from the Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans, La.

Father Twomey, please.

Very glad to have you with us, Father Twomey.

STATEMENT OF LOUIS TWOMEY

Fr. Twomey: I consider it a real privilege to have this opportunity to share with you some thoughts which I am afraid will be quite repetitious after the very splendid presentation of Mr. Carter. However, Mr. Carter was speaking in the context of the Mississippi Delta, where I will be speaking in the context of southern Louisiana.

Maybe it might be helpful for a moment or two to explain why I happen to be sitting before you today. I have the privilege of being a member of the National Manpower Advisory Committee of the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare, and also on the Advisory Committee on Civil Rights of the Department of Agriculture, and through my experiences on those committees, together with my experiences as the director of the Institute of Human Relations at Loyola University in New Orleans, I have come, I think, to see very clearly the great challenge of the overriding problem of poverty and race. I think these are the two great problems which face us, and in one sense I think they are even more serious than the Vietnamese war, because they involve the very foundations of our whole constitutional way of life, they involve the dignity of thousands upon thousands of human beings who are presently, because of discriminations based on poverty and race, are unable to live in accordance with their human dignity.

Loyola University, through its Institute of Human Relations, has considered that it can make a contribution towards at least approaching the solution of these two great problems by involving some of its resources in coming to grips immediately with people and their problems. A university, of course, by its very nature is bound primarily to serve as an academic use. But in addition to that, it seems to me, universities are also under a very severe obligation of trying to service the community, the local community, the State community, and to the extent that it can, the national community, in bringing its resources to bear on the problems which beset us as a Nation, as a State, as a municipality, and these two great problems of poverty and race are the great challenge to our sincerity, it seems to me.

Do we believe what we say? We talk very grandly and eloquently of holding these to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and yet in practice we give the lie to that declaration.

Gentlemen, I hope you don't mind my speaking rather bluntly, because I think we have reached the stage where we are at the point of no return. It is all right for our troops in Vietnam to be showing the tremendous dedication and heroism that they are showing—and, incidentally, I might say, with a disproportionately large number of our Negro citizens participating in that battle—for what we say is the battle for freedom in the Far East. It is all right for us, and it is right for us to give our armed services and the cause for which they are fighting the greatest amount of support that we can. But it seems to me, and I speak as a southerner—I don't know whether that's relevant or not; I am a southerner, I was born and raised in the South, and maybe because I am a southerner I feel very deeply on this question because I have come full cycle. I feel, and I feel strongly, that unless we do come to grips with these problems, I don't think we deserve to survive as a nation or as a civilization. And probably we won't survive, because our attitude towards the poor person, towards the person who is persecuted because of his race—it seems to me that our attitude toward the poor and the persecuted is the acid test of our sincerity in proclaiming the principles of what we like to say are the fundamental beliefs of our democracy. And if we are unwilling to make the sacrifices and to accept the risks which are involved in building a society in accordance with these great principles, then I for one wonder whether we deserve to survive.

One of the things that worries me is that my own South, my own State, is giving very poor witness to the ideals of democracy as we strive to win the battle in the world for peace with justice, and we are unwilling to accord peace and justice to our own citizens.

Specifically, ladies and gentlemen, I speak in the context of southern Louisiana. Some 2 years or so ago we began to work with the Office of Manpower and Automation and Training of the Department of Labor in striving to devise an experimental and demonstration program to help the poor in the rural parishes—of course, counties, parishes we call them in Louisiana—in the rural parishes of southern Louisiana, and we devised a program which has enabled us to gain some experience at least in what possibly might be some of the solutions to the two great problems of poverty and race.

I would like very briefly to describe this program to you because I think that it has some merits in striving to come to grips with the basic problem that Mr. Carter indicated so eloquently and so well, and the problem with which we are continuously confronted.

Our program operated at three off-campus centers. For those of you who are familiar with the geography of that area, we had one center at Gramercy, which was in the sugarcane belt about 50 miles from New Orleans; we had another center at Kenner, which is on the outskirts of New Orleans; and we had a third center at Slidell, which is in St. Tammany Parish northeast of New Orleans. And these centers operated to strive to bring to 90 women, who by definition were from underprivileged backgrounds—these 90 women were rural dwellers who, if they had not gotten the training that we were able to supply them through government cooperation, would at best have been able to aspire to being a maid, a domestic servant, or a waitress in a restaurant or some other such menial position as that.

We were able in our two centers at Kenner and Slidell to train 90 women in secretarial skills, and I am happy to report to you that most of these women are now gainfully employed with living wages in jobs that they could never have possibly qualified for unless they had had this training. I would say 60 percent of the women in question were Negro and the other 40 percent were white. It was a thoroughly integrated program; we were proud of it. The staff was thoroughly integrated and the student body was thoroughly integrated, and, gentlemen, just for a little human interest story, I would like to tell you just one or two instances of what was the result of this training of these women.

Many of them with tears in their eyes would come up and say, "Thank God for the American Government, thank God for you good people who have made it possible for me to earn a decent living and to support my children with some degree of advantages."

It was really, in a sense, heartrending, and I'd like to add a footnote here, if you don't mind. Those of you who are familiar with the Manpower Development Training Act recall that it was passed in 1962. Now, as far as my memory serves me, this was the first time that a major power acknowledged its responsibility to its poor. I am very proud of my Federal Government for having entered into this new area of responsibility in 1962; and, of course, in 1964 we had the Economic Opportunity Act passed, as well as the Civil Rights Act, and we are now beginning to develop, please God, a pattern of programs such as the one I am briefly describing that will hopefully attack the problems that Mr. Carter has mentioned that exist certainly in the Mississippi Delta and throughout the South, the rural South particularly, not to speak of the urban South.

So this program, in addition to having 90 women, we had 60 men. These men were, again by definition, illiterate. Mississippi has not any monopoly on illiteracy. These men were either functional illiterates, and by that I mean a sixth grade education or below, or they were real illiterates, neither able to read or write. We gave them a course in basic education, the A,B,C's, and in addition to that, we gave them a course in prevocational training.

Now, our successes with this group have not been as spectacular as with the women's group for, I think, obvious reasons. Yet I think that we have brought new life or new hope into the lives of these men, and we are striving to develop job opportunities for them which will enable them to qualify for jobs which otherwise they would not be able to do.

Gentlemen, I would like to emphasize now something that I think we've got to contend with. I think the job opportunities in our rural areas, on our farms, are fast becoming fewer and fewer. I wonder whether—and I am not expressing my own opinion in this regard, I am expressing the opinion of people who know far more about it than I do—that as far as job opportunity is concerned, the farms are not a very promising area for them, and that more and more we are having to contend with the problem of migrants from the farm.

Now, this is worrying a great number of people. When these people who no longer are able to make a living on the farm, and at least they are young enough to be able to move toward our urban centers, what can be done to prepare these people for urban living? I think that one of the great dangers that exists in this country is the growing up of these enclaves of unemployables in our urban centers—men and women, particularly men, who are uneducated and unskilled, and for the most part, therefore, unable to qualify for the jobs on the rising market where we need greater and greater skills.

I don't know the answer to that question and I don't know who does know the answer to that question, but it is a very serious question. What are we going to do with our migrants from the rural areas who come into our cities psychologically, economically, sociologically completely unprepared for urban living, and yet in desperation they come to our cities. This is an area that demands that we get serious, and I might say in this regard that it is about time our southern politicians got serious.

That's an eternal embarrassment to me when I listen to southern politicians who think they've got to play the party line, and the party line, of course, is white supremacy. After all these years you'd think we would have gotten out of that, but we haven't.

Now, how do you promote programs that will come to grips with these real problems in our urban slums, which are intensified, of course, by the rural migrant? Gentlemen, I only see one answer to it, and that's the Federal Government. I see no other answer. The initiative must come from the Federal Government, the financing of it obviously must come from the Federal Government, and the insistence must come from the Federal Government.

Now, I don't want to get into the morass of the political implications which are involved here, but one of the real problems which the Government, the Federal Government has, as you good people well know, is the refusal of many local and State politicians to want to have anything to do with programs which benefit those who most need it and those who most deserve it, namely, the Negro.

This is rather rough talk, but I think it is long past the time when we should use words to conceal meaning, and this worries me. It worries me as a Christian, it worries me as a God-fearing man, it worries me as an American. How long can we live with this kind of denial of the very principles for which we say we exist?

Now, I would like to just briefly, in closing, suggest ways that might aid, that we might be able to use in remedying, at least temporarily, the situation which prevails in our rural areas.

I think it is possible—and we have found it successful, to a degree at least, in our program at the University—to train farmhands in the operation and maintenance of farm equipment. We have run into people who before our program didn't know enough to read the gages on these farm tractors, and after the program they were able to do so and they did, were able to qualify for higher or better-paying jobs by being able to maintain and operate with greater skill the machinery on these large agricultural farms.

Secondly—and I don't know whether this really has any meaning or not—the marginal farmer. Can we save him by instructing him how to use the techniques of diversified agriculture?

I would like to pause here for a moment. I feel very close to the Department of Agriculture because of my membership on their Civil Rights Committee and my knowledge of some very wonderful men in that department. I don't know whether I should say it here or not, but the Department of Agriculture is experiencing a great deal of difficulty in striving to make its programs work in the South from the standpoint of nondiscriminatory service, and this involves the State politics, it involves county politics, it involves local politics, where even such things as the food program have been used by local politicians as an instrument of oppression against the Negro.

The Department of Agriculture, I know, is looking for a solution. I know them too well for that. They want to do what is right, but in striving to assist the farmer with the very many wonderful programs that they have, sometimes the administration of these programs is done through men who are subject again to the whims of the power structure, the power elite or whatever you want to call them, either in the State or the county or the local area, and this is a very serious handicap. What can be done about it, gentlemen, I don't know.

So the second idea, therefore, would be to try to see whether we can save the marginal farmer, particularly when he is old and too old to make any kind of an adjustment perhaps for city living.

Then, of course, thirdly, to provide opportunities to the rural unemployed to gain new skills and thus to qualify for the growing industries in the area. In the particular area that I refer to, we have the great NASA operation. We have the development between New Orleans and Baton Rouge of the petrochemical industry; tremendous new jobs are being created, but the local people are not being trained for those jobs. Too often they are being bypassed, and, gentlemen, they are being bypassed largely sometimes because they have been the victims of poor education, and some of these national concerns would rather import their work force than train the local people.

In addition to that, of course, we have trouble, as we know, in labor unions, we have trouble with industries in this regard, because of the race problem.

Then the fourth suggestion that might have some value, to try to train rural youth to gain skills that would enable them to find meaningful employment in urban centers within commuting distance of their rural homes. If we could keep them in the area we would relieve the urban problem of their migrating to the city.

There is much more that I would like to say, gentlemen, and I will just conclude with this brief statement:

We must face the harsh fact that the situation we are discussing is not getting better, it is getting worse. Hopefully we can bring to bear on the problem enough determination and perseverance to make it possible to reconstruct meaningful lives for the rural poor in our countrysides or to prepare them for assuming constructive roles within our urban centers.

Gentlemen, that's, I think, enough for me.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Father. This is a very clear and explicit statement.

Mr. King has a question.

Mr. KING: Father, I want to apologize. We weren't interrupting. I was merely saying I was so glad that you brought out the point about the Department of Agriculture with some of us on advisory committees who are close to it, who know their philosophy, that the discrimination gets bogged down in the power structure of the local areas rather than from up above, and I also want to say to you that sitting here at this table has been an enlightening and frustrating experience, and when we have somebody who can not only make suggestions but also can say, "I am proud of the Federal Government," it gives my heart something that I haven't had in the last several days or the last several weeks, and I thank you very much.

Fr. TWOMEY: Well, just to add a little footnote to what I have said, I happen to be a citizen of Louisiana, and I have often said in public and in private I'm not about to begin to plead and suffer and die for the State of Louisiana, but I'd gladly do it for my Government, the United States Government. This kind of business of trying to put loyalty to the State above loyalty to our Government, to me is pretty close to treason.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gay has a question.

Mr. GAY: Father, you might be a person who can answer my question. Thirty-two years ago I came out of land grant college and was an evangelist for the Department of Agriculture, Rural Rehabilitation Administration, Farm Security Administration, et cetera. I left the Department several years ago, and recently people tell me, they say, "The Department of Agriculture has gotten a lot worse since you were in there. Back in the days when you were in there, boy, you all were really great, you were doing something, but now the Department of Agriculture is made up of hard tacks and people who aren't filled with the enthusiasm that you were back in those days. They've got all kinds of power structures of their own, they are to a great degree racists, dominated by this, they are conservative, and so forth."

Is that really true or does each generation say that about the other one in the Department of Agriculture, or what? You probably know the answer to that. I'd like to know.

Fr. TWOMEY: I'm not sure that I am an expert on the Department of Agriculture, because the more often I get to Washington and see what the Department of Agriculture is, the more overwhelmed I am with its complexity.

I would say this, that I think one of the real basic problems and built-in difficulties in the Department of Agriculture is that everybody, I think, that's knowledgeable recognizes what we have recognized here today, that agriculture is a receding industry as far as the question of employment of people is concerned. There are figures which are available, and they are rather startling, the decrease in farm employment over the last 10 years. I don't exactly have the figures here, but let me say this, that my contacts in the Department of Agriculture—and I don't want to be a name dropper here, but I will begin with the Secretary, Orville Freeman. I have a very high regard for him and I am convinced that he is utterly sincere in wanting to make the Presidential Executive orders work in exact measure that they are supposed to work, but what does he do? He runs into power politics in the South. He runs into this Congressman or that

Senator who is going to vote on this bill. Now, I am no politician and I don't mean to get into politics, other than to say that the difficulties which are experienced and which we have run into on our Committee, and we have been given absolute freedom in conducting our meetings, Secretary Freeman has backed us 100 percent.

One of the built-in difficulties is that you have some of these, many of these agricultural employees of the Department of Agriculture, they are paid by the Government, they are paid by the Federal Government, they are paid by the State Government, they are paid by the county government. They are appointed often enough by the power structure in the county or in the State. This is a very serious difficulty, and I think it is very much recognized in the Department of Agriculture now.

I am no spokesman for the Department of Agriculture, but I've got a very high regard for it, and they do have difficulties, and these difficulties are very, very well recognized in Washington, and they are just begging for solutions, as we are.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. GALLEGOS: Father Twomey, in the process of hearing testimony we have been pleased to hear reports concerning progress that has been made through various kinds of private corporations, private structures, economic development structures which have contracted with the Federal Government to carry out various programs. In your statement you indicated that the initiative, financing, and assistance must come from the Federal Government, and I wonder if in this you mean, number one, where we do have Federal services to give in the South that we do it in accordance with the way that it should be done, and, secondly, in terms of financing, do you see a greater role developing of partnership between those kinds of private corporations which may offer and extend services, or do you feel that that is not really facing up to the main issue of getting local and State governments to do what they should be doing?

Fr. TWOMEY: When I said I feel we need great Government intervention, I didn't mean to exclude private industry or private enterprise at all, but I think that if the impetus of Federal leadership is lacking, then I think we are in a bad way, because I think you are going to need the kind of push from Washington that can only come from Washington. We have in the industrial field now this whole question of fair employment practices. We are having plenty of trouble there, merit employment, and we had a big explosion in Alabama the other day when the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare insisted on what were quite reasonable rules, and they got accused of jamming the Federal Government down their throats. See, there is the kind of an atmosphere that I don't think, if it were left up to the States themselves, I doubt that we'd have much initiation of these programs, but as far as the private industry, the private universities or State universities working with the Government, oh, I think the more we can get of that the better, and the more we can get foundations involved in this the better.

I think the real work and the real leadership to a large extent is going to have to come from Washington.

Mr. GALLEGOS: I want to ask you one more question with respect to the proposals that some of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and other manpower programs may be shifted to the Department of

Labor. Do you see that as a way of integrating the planning and implementation of manpower programs under one roof, as a better thing than maybe setting up competitive programs under OEO?

Fr. Twomey: We have had this discussion over and over again to try to coordinate these efforts, and it is a real problem. I don't know. I know that they have been trying to coordinate them. Look at the number of departments that are involved in the Committee, Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty in the Presidential order, all the departments which are involved—and to try to get these together, they have vested interests, too, as you well know, within the departments, these various departments—and they don't like to lose jurisdiction which they have carved out for themselves. But I think an honest effort within the understanding of human weakness, I think that a real effort is being made in Washington, I know, to coordinate as far as possible the OEO and the Department of Labor and the MDTA, and so on. Whether it is going to be successful or not or as successful as we would like it to be, we don't know.

The Chairman: Mr. Gibson, please.

Mr. Gibson: Father, I am very interested and gratified that you are active with something called the Civil Rights Committee affiliated with the Department of Agriculture. Like Connie, I have some very strong feelings about this. Mine chiefly, however, I must say, reflect awareness that on the local level there is an almost total breakdown between the services of the Department of Agriculture and the low income and minority peoples, especially the low income minority peoples in the Southeast and in the Southwest. I know of no thrusts within the Department of Agriculture, no overt activities which have moved, using some tools which I know of, to cut down this discrimination. The Congress passed in 1964 the Civil Rights Act, gave it a Title VI, which permits the Federal agencies to bring to hearing and to cut off the funding of programs, even if they go through local political structures, which themselves discriminate. I don't know of any instance in which the Department of Agriculture has attempted to do this.

I may just be ignorant and perhaps you can inform me, Father, but I don't know that beyond the decency of some individuals in the Department of Agriculture, as individuals, some of whom I have met and respect quite highly, I know of no departmental program or efforts which are, in fact, attempting to meet this problem. Could you enlighten me?

Fr. Twomey: Well, I tell you this. I know that certainly directives have been sent down, and I think the heads of the various divisions within the Department of Agriculture have made it very clear what are supposed to be the policies that are to be followed both in the internal structure of the agency, as well as the external implementing of the programs of the Department of Agriculture. I think maybe you are right. We are very much worried about that, too. We don't know what happens when Senator X says to the President, "Look, you are putting too much heat on us down here." I don't know what happens after that. This is the kind of a thing that reminds you of what Churchill once said, that democracy is the worst form of government until you consider the alternatives.

But you know what I would appreciate you doing, if you will, if you will give me a memorandum and state——

Mr. GIBSON (interrupting): Father, there is a very thick document compiled by the Civil Rights Commission which documents in cases after case, program after program, agency after agency, and bureau after bureau in the Department of Agriculture conditions which exist. They still exist. There have been hearings in the various State advisory committees in the Southern States, the advisory committees to the Civil Rights Commission. Recent documentation now exists.

Mr. Black could tell you about counties in Alabama of instances that sound like criminal collusion with regard to diversion of payments as they affect the Negro farmers. It sounds like collusion between the Department of Agriculture and the landowners.

Fr. TWOMEY: Some elements have been accused of that, that's true. The word "collusion" was not used, but "conspiracy."

Mr. GIBSON: Yes, that and collusion.

Fr. TWOMEY: But if you will, I would appreciate it, because that will remind me at the next meeting of our advisory council to really do something.

Mr. GIBSON: I will get something to you very quickly.

The CHAIRMAN: We will have two more gentlemen.

Mr. Bonnen first.

Mr. BONNEN: I am interested in your running a very interesting set of programs, and I wanted to ask, in your experience—and you seem to get around a lot and have at least an overall view of a lot of these program areas—to what extent does, say, MDTA or other work-training programs that are offered in terms of national programs, to what extent are these actually reaching the rural poor?

Fr. TWOMEY: Well, of course, Mr. Bonnen, the MDTA programs were not specifically devised for the rural poor. Actually, as you will notice, the chairman of the Committee on Rural Poverty is the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Agriculture has at his disposal the Federal Extension Service, for one, which has fine, real good service to offer. I think it could come well through that.

Now, we have a proposal in the Department of Agriculture right now to try to do something to bypass the ill-working agencies of the Department of Agriculture in certain areas, where these agencies—for instance, the Federal Extension Service is really not able to operate or is not operating on a nondiscriminatory basis, so that the people who most need it and who most deserve these services are not getting it. So that the MDTA would be mostly, I think, focused on urban problems, where the various programs, the training programs of the Department of Agriculture would be focused, of course, on rural areas.

Mr. BONNEN: Are you saying that MDTA is designed exclusively for urban working forces?

Fr. TWOMEY: I would say that most of the MDTA programs that I know about are designed for urban areas, although we have an MDTA program which was designed, as I just explained to you, for rural areas.

Mr. BONNEN: So it does not exclude rural?

Fr. TWOMEY: No, but I think the emphasis is on urban.

Mr. BONNEN: One other question. You pointed to training in the operation and maintenance of farm equipment as one of the paths that we should take.

Fr. **Twomey**: Possibly.

Mr. **Bonnen**: There was some earlier testimony that in finding job opportunities for the rural poor, particularly on farms—we had earlier testimony that though this seems logical, in at least certain of these areas there are really no job opportunities here, that is, the market is already well supplied with maintenance and operating people. Now, is this your sense of it?

Fr. **Twomey**: Well, the particular context, Mr. Bonnen, in which I was speaking was a situation on a sugarcane plantation or plantations, and the tractor drivers, they had the positions, but the tractor drivers, some of them, couldn't read the gages on this farm equipment.

Mr. **Bonnen**: You are talking of upgrading skills of those who are already operating them?

Fr. **Twomey**: That's specifically what I had in mind.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Johnson, please.

Mr. **Johnson**: I wanted to ask, Father, you have a lot of trade schools in Louisiana already. Aren't they helpful in these training programs you are talking about now?

Fr. **Twomey**: Yes; if you are familiar with the Delgado Trade School in New Orleans, they are doing a fine job, and now they do have quite a few MDTA programs, the on-the-job training programs, of course, and, yes, they do. But, see, one of the big problems in all this, when you talk about training programs, training for what? That's one of the big things. We try to train in the MDTA programs a wide variety of skills that are available to those who want to take them, and I am all for that. I think that this is certainly a part of the essential answer; not the whole answer by any means.

Mr. **Johnson**: That's right. It would be foolish to train a man for a job that wasn't available, and your tractor driver, probably more than mechanics, what he needs is basic education, reading, writing, and arithmetic, which we have that program also, as you know.

We are out of funds on it now, but it seems to me we run most of those through our trade schools in Arkansas to a great extent, and I was just wondering, are the trade schools in Louisiana being utilized for that purpose?

Fr. **Twomey**: Well, one of the difficulties is, of course, we were speaking specifically of the urban areas, I mean, the rural areas. Now, for instance, between New Orleans and Baton Rouge there is not one office of the Bureau of Employment Security, not one. So that whole area of service is blacked out.

We need a survey on the needs. We have some of them, but this gentleman, Mr. Ford, remarked that these labor statistics can get awfully sticky. What do they mean? We are not too sure and I can quote the Secretary of Labor, excuse me for dropping names again, but he is quite skeptical on the statistics that have come out of some of these States relative to unemployment and so on.

Mr. **Johnson**: I would like to answer one question for you and Mr. Gibson about the Department on integration. They did send out a directive to all agricultural agencies that the personnel in all is integrated on the basis of number of Negro farmers to white farmers in Arkansas, from the State committee on down. Now, that was carried out in Arkansas. I guess, Doctor, you will verify this, that was carried out immediately, so I don't know about other States, but that directive did come out of the Secretary's office to the directors and the State committee and it was carried out immediately in Arkansas.

Fr. Twomey: I know real efforts are being made, but we really did run into sticky situations.

The Chairman: Father Twomey, I will just allow one more Commissioner to ask a question.

Dr. Davis.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: An observation, and I know it can't be settled here, is that maybe sometimes we ought to review the laws and see what is provided for in the law. We might expect sometimes certain types of things to be carried out that are not covered within the law governing. Now, on the MDTA, it is my understanding that the Employment Security Division has to make a survey before you establish a class. I am of the opinion that sometimes people get so anxious to start a class that they don't get the data necessary to support the class, but should you get the thing approved, then we train a lot of people for which there are no jobs, and I think this is one of the fallacies of our program.

Fr. Twomey: I think the Bureau of Employment Security is undermanned.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: That might be it.

Fr. Twomey: And one of the difficulties is, of course, that the surveys, we work with the Department of Employment Security in making the survey before we put on this program, so you can do it that way, too.

The Chairman: Father, we are very grateful to you. You have been very helpful to us. We appreciate your coming.

Next I have the pleasure of introducing one of my neighbors, Mrs. Teresa Smith from Richmond, Ky., who has been a resident in this area for a long time.

Come in, Mrs. Smith, and sit here. What would you like to tell us?

STATEMENT OF THERESA SMITH

Mrs. Smith: Mr. Chairman, first I would like to tell you that I am mighty grateful for the opportunity to get to come down here. I am just so happy I don't hardly know what to do.

For one thing, I am grateful to have gotten to ride on an airplane, something that I said I would never do.

The Chairman: Well, were you afraid to any great degree?

Mrs. Smith: No, it didn't even make me sick. I had such a good friend with me, I thought, well, when we go down I'll have someone to keep me company.

I am here for one purpose today, and that is to try and see that some good comes out of this program, because I know it is a good program. I know it is doing wonderful work because I have worked in it for over 2 years or right around 2 years as a volunteer worker.

The CHAIRMAN: Tell us exactly the name of this program, Mrs. Smith.

Mrs. SMITH: This is the Richmond, Ky., Community Action Group. It comes out of the Madison County Development Association. The Madison County Development Association comes out of the Kentucky River Foothills Development Council.

This program is doing wonderful work in Richmond. It has brought in lots of wonderful programs. One of the programs that it has brought in is one that I am just proud of, is a credit union. In this credit union, it is a union where you can save a quarter a week if you desire until you have saved $5, and then you are able to claim a share. It is nonprofit, no one gets a dime for any of the service. I sit on the board, I am one of the salesmen, and no one gets paid, but it is wonderful work. We have been given the honor of saying we are the first credit union in the United States under that situation.

The CHAIRMAN: How many members are there now?

Mrs. SMITH: Oh, now—I don't fully understand. I want you all to be patient with me because I don't fully— can't give all of that; but right now we have, I think, a little over $2,000, and in that way we are able to loan up to $200, and no one right now is able to put in over $500 because they have all of these different— see, I don't know how it is based on.

The CHAIRMAN: It is regulated by the State?

Mrs. SMITH: By the Government, that's who it is regulated by, and that's who we have to be responsible to. I am just proud of the program.

The Headstart program, the Torchlight, and the Upward Bound and all of those programs are wonderful, but I do think in my community there has been enough emphasis put on education, because there are other people in that community that are in the—I don't mean to say middle class, I don't mean to put it that way, but I am talking about in the middle group of education and not having any education.

Then there is a group of people that don't have education. We have a basic education going now and I am proud to say that I am going to it, enjoying it, and we are doing a tremendous work because there are people coming there that didn't even know how to read and write their names, and now, the other night the teacher told me that they are able to read and write their names, and that is wonderful. If no more is accomplished, that is wonderful. But I am hoping to see more.

I worked in the Medicare Alert program and that is what inspired me to stay in the program more than anything. Because in working in Medicare, the first day I was out I seen a man sick in bed, and his wife had to go to town to get groceries, and he asked me would I make a fire for him. It was new, I don't guess anybody knows hardly what to tell you to do, but me being a Christian, I couldn't go out of that house without making a fire for that man. I stayed there and made a fire, went back, sat down, asked him had he had his food or anything and he told me yes, and I stayed with him until I found he was comfortable. So I went back and told my boss later, because I felt like that was the end of my job, but I thank the Lord for having such a wonderful person as a boss. She told me she was just so proud of me she didn't know what to do.

We went all over the county. The first time in my life that I ever seen anyone live in a one-room house; we found it. We were able to get that man to sign up for Medicare where other people wouldn't even take the interest to go back in there and try. We climbed fences, we did everything to get back there, but we were determined that we weren't going to leave that man until he signed up.

It is a great need, it is a tremendous need, and the need is other than education. As I say, now, I don't want you to think I am against education, because I know education is a long-term program; but there is a program that's needed and needed right now.

Another thing that I think will help the program is a program that will come in where it will help mothers to bring their children somewhere and leave them while they work, and it will help bring some of these young people off of this welfare business and help them to work, because I think everybody that's able to work ought to work. That's all I ask for is to get a job myself, because the Bible plainly tells us every man should make a living by the sweat of his own brow, and that's just what I believe. And I think when you talk about taxes, if we'd take some of them off of some of these welfares and find them some jobs, our taxes will be less and it will help a great bit.

Those are the programs that I want to see come in, because people are beginning to lose interest in the program. All of it is put on education, and this group of people can't see any benefit in it because there is no benefit coming out of it for them, and that's why I am down here and so glad to get the opportunity to come down here and try to get, I hope, all of you, to see what I am trying to say to you.

I just want to see a program, and I believe the only thing, some of the people—now, I'm not educated and I don't want you to think I am educated because I didn't finish the eighth grade, but you are talking about solving a problem. I believe what will solve the problem more is to find jobs, see that people go to work, and these that are drawing this money and don't want to work, they either work or they don't get the money, if they are able.

Now, I'm for helping sick people. I don't care if he is 2 years old and sick, give him all you can. I am for helping mothers and fathers who are doing the best they can with what they have. But I do think when people are able to work, they should work, and that's what I want.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mrs. Smith.

Mr. King has a question. Mr. King is a farmer from Illinois.

Mr. KING: How do you do.

Mrs. SMITH: How do you do, sir.

Mr. KING: Somebody told me you got a permanent job going back and making that old man's fire. What about that?

Mrs. SMITH: Well, I would do it because I am still doing the very same work. In my home they call me the medicine lady and all kinds of things that came out of the Medicare, and it showed me that they were proud to see me working.

The CHAIRMAN: Are you employed by the Richmond CAP?

Mrs. SMITH: No, sir, I am a volunteer.

The CHAIRMAN: I am very glad to have you state that.

Mr. Ford.

Mr. FORD: Mrs. Smith, we have had a lot of people come and tell us that one of the problems with these programs, they really weren't reaching the real poor people. Now, you seem to say that at least in Madison County you are getting out to this. Is this done mostly by volunteers?

Mrs. SMITH: This is what is done by volunteers right now. There is no program. The basic education—excuse my term, the way I talk, but I talk just the way I feel—you can't eat education. And, yes, basic education is helping, it has helped uplift people, but you know people soon get tired of just that phase of the program. We want to see something happen. That's what I mean now.

The CHAIRMAN: Yesterday we had a gentleman say he never heard of anybody that ate a yard of road, so I think you are telling us a little different angle here.

Mr. STANLEY: Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: Please.

Mr. STANLEY: Mrs. Smith, you used a reference to a program, and I wanted to see if you would tell us what it is, the Torchlight program. I haven't heard of this one.

Mrs. SMITH: That's at Berea. It is Upward Bound at Eastern. Now, I think I have a gentleman here probably could tell you.

Mr. STANLEY: I'll wait and get Mr. Ayer on that one.

The CHAIRMAN: I will provide just two sentences. This was a program devised by Berea College for high-school-age delinquents, dropouts, or prospective dropouts. It was an 8-week summer session; 200 students from four counties were enrolled, with a boss, a director, and 20 college students who were counselors, each with 10 students.

We think it was a very successful enterprise.

Mr. STANLEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I like getting explanations from presidents.

The CHAIRMAN: Dr. Davis.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: You seem to be very enthusiastic about it and we share some of the philosophy. But I notice you did not make a charge of discrimination or power structure opposing the program and some of the things that we hear so frequently.

Is there general support in the community for the program that you are working with?

Mrs. SMITH: Yes, sir, I firmly believe that there is general support. Now, I am not going to set here and tell you any story because I am for telling you the truth. There is going to always be people that probably won't go along and share it, but it hasn't been able to stop us. I want to tell you as far as I feel about Richmond, Ky., I have never personally—of course, there may be other people, because I tell you I try to live so that I am going to give respect and I try to live so that I can demand respect—and I have never had a minute's trouble in Richmond, Ky., as far as racial issues go.

The CHAIRMAN: May I ask, would the mayor and the fiscal court support these programs?

Mrs. SMITH: Oh, yes. Now probably at first they were a little skeptical of the program, but after they seen that it was coming through the Government, of course, like most people, they want all they can get. (Laughter.) But I tell you one thing, our housing situation is a poor situation. The mayor of Richmond is working hard for that, and Mayor Hinchley of Berea—Berea, Ky., is still in Madison County—we are working very hard on that and we are hoping to get all the help that we can.

We have three community centers going in our area that I am proud of, and we have built those community centers. I mean, we haven't built them—we have brought them into existence ourselves by having dances and auctions and different things like that.

We have one in Richmond, we have got it set up, and that's something that we have never had in Madison County because that's where the discrimination come in, was in our community center, and that's one thing that I am so proud of today. We have got three going that is for everyone and that's another thing that the program has brought in, and we did it on our own.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mrs. Smith. You make me very proud to have you here as a representative of the activities in Madison County. We appreciate your coming.

Mrs. SMITH: Well, I am more than grateful to have been asked. Thank you so much.

The CHAIRMAN: The gentleman whose name was before Mrs. Smith, Mr. Rufus Whitamore, would have added possibly some more on this last statement she gave of three community centers which have been developed in the county by the local community action groups themselves. Unfortunately, Mr. Whitamore could not come.

Next on our list is Miss Carolyn Russell, of Winston-Salem, I believe, and Mrs. Nunn. We are very glad to have you here, Miss Russell and Mrs. Nunn.

STATEMENT OF CAROLYN RUSSELL

Miss RUSSELL: I grew up in the rural community where everyone was in poverty by today's standards. We have had many programs to help people help themselves for many, many years, and when I think about all the things that have been done to help people help themselves, I just wonder what rural America would be like if we hadn't had these programs.

I grew up as a 4-H Club member, and when I think of all that time, really all my free time practically as a child and a teenager in 4-H activities and projects, I just wonder how my life would be different now if I hadn't done this. This did lead to a very satisfying career as a home economist.

Now as I think about problems, I really do wonder what this world would be, this country, if we hadn't had the land grant university system and the extension service which is the arm of this land grant university system.

Now I am going to focus my remarks today on one phase of the extension program in one county of North Carolina. I am the extension home economist, Forsyth County. This county is a little different from all the others. We have State and National goals, but we have no two counties exactly alike and no two programs exactly alike. Our programs are made up by the people, based on local problems.

We have an extension advisory board in my county composed of about 30 people representing different clientele groups; business, the different organizations and agencies, and then we have two or three hundred people engaged in study committees throughout the year to analyze situations and identify problems.

Just last week I was in a study committee where several groups were meeting together talking about the problems, and one of the urgent needs they felt was not only what extension leadership can do, but what they as volunteers can do to work with the schools and the communities in educating parents and children on the venereal disease problem.

When we consider two sides of the program, how to earn more and how to spend what we have to provide basic necessities of life, we are thinking, I think, immediately of the homemaker side, and in home economics extension we do concentrate more on how to manage what we have rather than how to earn more.

I have heard an old saying, I can't remember it exactly, but the woman can throw away as much in a spoon from the back door as the husband can bring in with a shovel, and there is a lot of truth in this, so that we concentrate on how to manage with a limited amount of resources, and the problems of poverty years ago haven't changed much as far as that is concerned. We are still trying to earn more and we are trying to manage with what we have.

In taking a look at the families who are in poverty, we realize the great need for family life education, family planning, sex education, child development, so these are some of the disciplines in home economics teaching.

The basic philosophy of extension is that the programs are based on the local problems, and in the beginning extension recognized that we would never hire enough personnel to do this job entirely, so we started—I shouldn't say "we," but it was started—training leaders to help do this job.

Now, when you look at problems, well, I'm in a county of 50,000 families and I have obligation to all the people of the county. It is a very frustrating thing to think of how can I help 50,000 families. And when we think about priorities, naturally the low income group must be considered. But when I think about working with one individual family as much time as it requires, then am I using my time wisely? So we look at our resources, and we have right now 44 home demonstration clubs in our county with about 1,200 women in membership. We have been in a leadership program for 50 years, so if I think of multiplying my efforts by 1,200, then this job isn't so frustrating, and this is the big job that we have tried to do.

I am pleased to get good leaders in economics extension continuing programs to help others, and they are obligated. We say this from the beginning, "You are obligated to pass this information on to someone else." Our classes are limited. All of our workshops are limited to those who will teach. This suit I am wearing was made by a leader who learned to tailor suits in a home demonstration workshop. She was obligated to teach others this skill when she came.

Mrs. Nunn, the lady with me, is a volunteer leader and she is going to tell more about how these leaders have helped to reach others, and especially in the rural poverty group. Now, remember about a third of our membership is in this poverty group, but we have others, and Mrs. Nunn is not in the poverty group.

We do as much as we can through leaders, but we have found a lot of this audience through other agencies. It takes much, much time for us to find these people. You know, I said a third is in the poverty group, but think of all the people who never, never called us, who need us the most, and it is very hard to find them sometimes, so we have worked through other agencies to do this.

Our welfare department and the home economics extension act, I could give you several examples of how we have worked together, but one of the recent things, about 2 years ago we got the food stamp program in our county. A lot of the eligible people would not participate, they didn't see the need, they just didn't understand it in some cases, but the welfare invited these people to come to a meeting. The welfare and home agents jointly explained the program, explained the need for an adequate diet, what an adequate diet was, and in 2 months we checked up on this and found that 52 percent of the 130 who attended this meeting did participate in the food stamp program.

After we got the participants the welfare brought the, well, they invited about 40 at a time, and we did a series of nutrition classes, six classes each, and we have done three or four series now. The welfare transports the participants and we do the teaching. We don't do all of it. We get some of the other home economists in town to help, and this puts these people in touch with another agency which can be helpful to them. The welfare also took care of the babies while the mothers were in class. This is just one example of the types of things that we have done together. They know who the people are and they help us find them quickly.

Another example of what we have done with other groups, the hard-core poverty. A lot of the people who have been in the rural area have moved into the urban area and they are having difficulty finding a place to live and so on. They are living in housing projects. We find these are rural people that we find in housing projects. We have worked with the management there in teaching sewing classes, refinishing furniture. The maintenance shop was a good place to learn to refinish furniture.

One thing we got other agencies involved in was chartering a bus to take these people to the shopping centers, to the grocery stores, the bigger supermarkets away from the local corner store, and some economists went along and helped them shop. These are a few examples of things that we have done with the housing projects.

Now, these are things that we have done through the years. I have been there seven, we have been doing this all of the years I have been there, but when some OEO funds became available, we were happy to be able to participate as a subcontracting agency with the local community action program which we call Experiment in Self-Reliance at Home, and we are now working in the target area in the home management program. The Extension Service is supervising the program, furnishing the training. We have been in a very intensive training program for the past—well, since September with the aids, the unprofessional aids. We have 2 home agents and 10 subprofessional aids in this area. We have a very exciting thing right now just beginning. We are going to furnish a house with secondhand furniture on a budget that these people can afford, and I know the people, the professionals and the volunteers working together, they are going to be very proud of what they can accomplish through this information that they are going to learn.

Now, one thing, they are going to learn to make mattresses for $15, and I know this is going to show a way for many people to have a mattress that have never had one. I don't know how to make a mattress for $15, but the resources at State College—the specialists there will come and teach us this. And we do know, of course, many of the things that we will teach, but we have the resources and the leadership to do this job.

Now, we have 300 ladies already enrolled in home economics classes in this one target area which they have been working with just since September. We hope to have some more of these home management programs in the fall in some other areas.

Now, Mrs. Nunn, one of our volunteer leaders, will tell you about some of the volunteer leadership work. I have never heard her say this, and I get it from, it seems to me, the Salvation Army. She is the type of lady who is going to save the world one by one, and as a professional I can't think about that, I've got to work with groups, people who will promise to work with other groups. But Mrs. Nunn has found a way to work with them one by one, and they need this individual work.

Mrs. Nunn.

The CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Nunn, we are all eligible for assistance one by one.

STATEMENT OF MRS. H. L. NUNN

Mrs. NUNN: I have been in home demonstration work for 15 years. I was a housewife raising my family when I first joined a club. Through these years I have learned much through the home economics extension program. It helped me to become a more efficient homemaker, a better wife and mother. It has instilled in me a great concern for the welfare of my fellow man.

In the early days of my club work I was satisfied to attend my club meetings and the education programs and to share the information I received with my neighbors who were not club members. When asked to serve in a leadership capacity, I hesitated because I thought I had no particular talent and certainly no leadership ability. I finally realized what an opportunity home demonstration offered in training me for leadership. My first experience was as education leader of my local club and when I gave my first report, I was so self-conscious that I just trembled. Since then I have served as a leader in numerous capacities in my club and have accepted county responsibilities, too. Presently I am serving as a health chairman of our State association.

Knowing how much home economics extension has meant to me and how its program could improve the standard of living of the low income homemaker, I concentrated on ways to identify and help teach these homemakers. We have club members and poor people in all areas of our county, but so often the club members do not know who the families are or what type of help is needed for them.

Four years ago I worked with our home economics agent and the county welfare director in formulating a referral system by which these needy families would be identified by the welfare personnel, also what type of education or services were needed for them. These families would be referred to home demonstration leaders nearest to the families' community. This referral system has proven to be a very satisfactory way to reach and teach many of these poor families.

We have helped many people not only from our welfare department but from other agencies who call on us, such as the Family and Child Service, Goodwill Rehabilitation, Inc., and the public schools' social workers. One outstanding referral to home demonstration was a family with five children who had come to the attention of the local police department because the children were begging food from the neighbors. As there was no criminal neglect found in the case, it was turned over to the Associated Family and Child Service Agency. After a little temporary help from this agency the case was referred to a home demonstration club for services. The family was not eligible for welfare assistance. They had moved to the city from a farm in an adjoining county and the father was so unskilled in an industrial job that he could make very little in wages. The mother, less than 25 years old, was very sick in early pregnancy, expecting an eighth child. Club members took care of the family until the mother was able to take care of them again. The club members brought in food, clothing, some necessary furniture, and household furnishings. They obtained free prenatal services for the mother. After the baby came, a club member was instrumental in getting her to attend a family planning program. When this mother was able to take over the household duties again, the club instructed her in good housekeeping and household management, cleanliness, and hygienic practices. They helped her to get on the food stamp program and to get enrolled in the food stamp nutrition classes where she received a certificate for attendance and skill.

The club is still working with this family and has been instrumental in getting them to move back to the farm where the father is better suited to farming, and the mother is certainly better equipped to take care of her family after her contact with home demonstration club members.

Another example of referral work done by our club members was in a case that came to the home demonstration from the Child Division of Welfare. This family of four, the mother retarded, the father disabled, a girl six and a boy nine who were normal, but very antisocial, were moved from a one-room hovel in a slum district to a modest little home in a rural area. The club members were instrumental in finding this home for them. The family had nothing worth bringing with them. They all four were sleeping on the bed without sheets and were eating off of a box. Club members secured furniture and furnishings, clothing, and food to get the family rehabilitated. Then they instructed the father and helped him to paint portions of the interior of the house, also to refinish some of the furniture, encouraged the family to keep the house clean, instructed them in personal hygiene, instilled a desire in the children to want to and to try to keep a neat appearance.

Club members carried the children to clinics for all shots and immunizations and dental care, and they could get this service through the Health and Welfare Department, but so often there are so many cases they do not have enough homemakers or caseworkers to get these services for indigent families. They taught the mother about nutrition and how to plan a good meal at low cost. The club worked with this family for 2 years and has been instrumental in raising this family's living standard to a much higher level. School attendance by the children has been excellent recently. Before, they missed so much school because they didn't have proper clothing, and they were made fun of by other children. They had quite a problem on the bus with them. But after 2 years of contact with home demonstration members, this all cleared up and they love to go to school and their attendance was just excellent.

The training I have received as home demonstration council health leader has enabled me to become a member of the board of the Mental Health Association, the TB Association, and the county nutrition committee. Working in these health areas, I have become aware of many problems and many resources and am able to help coordinate these agencies and programs. Through the nutrition committee I learned that an effort was being made to help people in the Federal housing project here to get more vitamin C in their diet through growing tomatoes. I arranged with a neighbor of mine who grows tomato plants to give these people in the housing project all the tomato plants he couldn't sell. These plants were distributed by senior citizens living there and it was just interesting when we drove up with our boxes of plants to see these ladies come up the street with their baskets to distribute the tomato plants. The results of the tomato project was fine, both from yield and enthusiastic backing of the residents and the housing administration.

We have many talented, educated, and dedicated volunteer leaders in the Forsyth County home demonstration program. These leaders are well aware of what home demonstration can and is doing for thousands of homes, and they are very anxious to help others benefit.

My neighbor, who is a home demonstration house furnishing leader, taught 75 individuals through workshops last year to refinish furniture. She furnished her guest bedroom in her own home for $25 by refinishing secondhand furniture and making accessories. Twenty other leaders conducted refinishing demonstrations for one week at the area fair last fall. This is an example of our county's volunteer leadership.

As a voluntary leader, our pay is self-satisfaction and recognition. One of the most satisfactory experiences I can recall is seeing a letter written by a lady who had learned to read and write through a literacy program I helped to arrange. One of my greatest recognition experiences is being asked to speak to this Committee on extension home economics and rural poverty.

Thank you.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mrs. Nunn. We are very, very grateful to you.

Should we ask questions now, Miss Russell, or do you want to add something?

Miss **Russell**: No.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Gallegos has the first question.

Mr. **Gallegos**: Well, I am particularly interested, Miss Russell and Mrs. Nunn, being a Tarheel, having worked all over Forsyth County, Stokes, Caswell, Alamance, all of them. When I was working in your area doing as a male counterpart what you are now doing, we had quite a problem with the poor white. It was population control. You go out there in Forsyth County, Walkertown, Route 2, you know, and these tremendous size families. It seemed to be just a hopeless situation back then, the large families and their inability to raise enough foodstuff or to get enough income for them.

I have two questions. Well, the other thing was a problem of getting to the Negro population of Forsyth County and getting fully set up to help them.

What are you doing now in the extension service for family planning? You spoke of it, you touched on it. Let's say here's a family, a white family, we'll take, and the old man is working for the Goody Headache Powder Company or something and he still has umteen youngsters coming on. You know the problem as I am describing it. I don't want to get around to the pill, I heard it being discussed this very morning. How do you reach that low income family? Or here is a Negro family working for Reynolds Tobacco Company, making Camel cigarettes part of the time. How are you reaching those people through the extension service?

Miss **Russell**: We aren't reaching a lot of them, I'm sure. The first question, we do have a family planning center clinic in our health department. They are doing this with the school of medicine there. As far as extension is doing, we are trying to inform our groups, our organized groups, of the planning center. We had a leader-training school for health, family life, and education leaders this year, and had the person in charge of this clinic come and explain to these local leaders, and they are asked to explain this program in their churches and any place they have an opportunity.

Mr. **Gallegos**: Did Wake Forest College moving over to Winston-Salem have any effect in helping you to accomplish some of these things, or are we Baptists just as hardheaded on some of those as we were?

Miss **Russell**: I'm not sure of that.

The **Chairman**: Mr. King.

Mr. **King**: He ruled me out on the first question I want to ask, but, secondly, I'd like to say that you have substantiated and given evidence to one of my very favorite subjects, that the training and the background of rural people is so important and hard to measure; and it certainly is one of the crutches to solving rural poverty to have folks like yourself who have come here and so graciously told how important your rural background was to developing your character and your ability and to then go back and work among the people. I want to thank you for saying that. I have been telling this up and down the table and have been talking for many years prior and thank you very much.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Neil Davis**: Miss Russell, you said, I believe, you had what, twenty-odd home demonstration clubs?

Miss **Russell**: Forty-four.

Mr. **Neil Davis**: Do you have any home demonstration clubs in which the membership is constituted by the real, as we say, dirt poor?

Miss Russell: No. I think they are all mixed, and really I can't tell by looking at them, you know. I have made a survey and know this.

Mr. Neil Davis: What I am trying to get at, is the extension program in your area of North Carolina able to get beyond the high income, the middle income, and maybe farm families that make as much as $2,500 a year, and get down to those that just make very little, real small farmers?

Miss Russell: Well, the last survey in our State on the income of the home demonstration members, one-third were making under $3,000 a year, and the president of our organization right now, of the State organization, does qualify and does live in a Federal housing project. She is not here because of illness.

Mr. Neil Davis: I take it that the home demonstration program has moved into town now, too; is this right?

Miss Russell: Yes.

Mr. Neil Davis: And you do—you are able to get at the real low income people perhaps a little more conveniently, a little more easily when they are in town than when they are out in some of the backwoods?

Miss Russell: We haven't gotten them through home demonstration clubs in town. I think the urban people who are joining are in the higher income levels, and we are really taking advantage of their capabilities, their resources, education to work with other people. But the only way we are able to reach the low, low income in the city is through the other agencies, so far. This, of course, introduces them to us and they bring them to us and then they call us later, but this is the way we get them.

Mr. Neil Davis: Do you have a Negro home demonstration agent in Forsyth County?

Miss Russell: Yes. We have three, with the two that have been added through OEO.

The Chairman: Mr. Bonnen.

Mr. Bonnen: As a long-time student of extension and an employee of a college of agriculture, I am pleased to see and hear this description of reasonably successful and serious application to the problems of the low income in extension. One of the things that has bothered me greatly is that the evolution of these institutions has left us with personnel on board—and it doesn't make any difference whether you are talking about researchers or extension people—who reflect the kind of problem we heard described here yesterday: that our professionals are so utterly, utterly middle class in their values that they have great difficulty developing any empathy and any understanding of the really hard-core low income people, to the extent that they have great communication difficulties. And indeed, many of them seem to reflect—well, they get frustrated very easily and you talk to them and they sound like, well, these people, they are so frustrating, they don't have middle-class values and they really ought to have them before we can get them involved in these programs. Where in reality the only way you will ever get access to, ever penetrate the low, very lowest income groups, where you do have substantial elements of a culture of poverty which puts up these barriers, is to accept them on their own grounds, accept their own objectives in life. And I would be interested in your assessment as to the extent in an area such as North Carolina where you can't ignore them—as we can sometimes, I think in Michigan, just sort of sweep the poor under the rug, because we are a wealthier State.

Where the problem is recognized, how successful are you in extension home economics work, which has a great deal potentially to offer here, in training professional workers to see that they do have to accept these people, and that they are different, and that you've got to work with them on their own, in terms of their own definitions of life and their own objectives; which was, of course, the great genius of extension when it began 50 years ago in working with farm people who certainly couldn't be described 50 years ago as middle-class; they were working-class people.

Miss Russell: This is a problem, and we really say that we are going to work with people where they are, and that the only place that you can begin is exactly where they are. We do want them to be where we are in our thinking, I know, as middle-class citizens. This is why we think that the subprofessional working with the subprofessional in this target area is helpful at least, but I see some problem with the extension agent and working with a subprofessional in these standards, values.

Mr. Bonnen: What proportion of your subprofessionals come out of the low income?

Miss Russell: They are all from the real poor.

Mr. Bonnen: So the problem crops up, you say, in the relation between the agent and the subprofessional?

Miss Russell: Yes.

Mr. Ford: How many of these subprofessionals are we talking about?

Miss Russell: Ten in our program. This is a problem we are aware of and we are working on. We have to keep talking to ourselves about this.

The Chairman: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. Laurel: Miss Russell, I can see the great improvement because of the work you are doing in North Carolina since Mr. Gay was there.

Mr. Gay: I wish I'd have said that.

Mr. Laurel: Because first of all, I am going to try to enroll in your classes and Mr. Gay's classes.

I have been much impressed with the kind of work that you and Mrs. Nunn are doing. These are the kind of things that we need some information on, because I think the county demonstration agents, the people that are actually going out and working with the people, the work that they have done and are doing has been minimized and underplayed.

I certainly want to congratulate both of you for the work you are doing.

The Chairman: Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. Gallegos: To what extent are the people who you develop as leaders moved on to consider questions of economics of the community, the questions of mechanics and what is happening in the rural areas, to what extent do the homemaker programs get involved in those kinds of discussions and problems?

Miss Russell: Well, Mrs. Nunn, if you have anything more to say, I'll move out of the way.

We have a community development organization whereby we are involved in a lot of these studies and programs, and we get the home demonstration members and leaders involved. And last fall we had a program for the total membership of our county to go to the technical institute and understand some of these training programs, the economic problems, and have them again, as leaders, pass this information on to the community.

Mr. **Gay**: Did you make your hat?

Miss **Russell**: I can make one like it for 65 cents.

Mr. **Gay**: That's a beautiful hat.

The **Chairman**: We'll take up a special training course for the ladies of our membership.

Dr. Jackson has a question.

Mrs. **Jackson**: It has been clearly stated here for both days that the farm and home agents are a group of people dedicated to helping the middle class. In your opening statement you are not so much working with people who don't have an income and how to get one, but how to use that that they have better. I found that as you talked this was very, very challenging even and refreshing. The answer that we seem to be looking for is this person who is working with this other group, this subgroup, the poverty group, the poor, in your leadership program, in your home demonstration clubs—each woman teach another woman something. I thought that they would reach below and get the subgroup, but in your last statement, this one that came up here, this difficulty in relating really to their problems, you say even you have difficulty relating to subprofessionals.

Now, I want to ask this, would you then propose that we can get out of this fight that we have been building up against the United States Department of Agriculture if we would look at the poverty group as a group needing a different kind of leadership—and this means that those people who would provide leadership for them in making a living and a home would be trained differently from what you have been trained?

Miss **Russell**: I think that being aware of this problem is a step to us getting in the right frame of mind to be trained. The question I think our welfare department had when we went to set up this referral system so that these leaders could reach the very, very low income—I think he was afraid that volunteers would just work the way they wanted to. But we have been very successful in this program. Our leaders have been able to communicate with the people.

Mrs. **Jackson**: I misunderstood, I'm sorry.

Miss **Russell**: I admitted we have trouble and we have to talk to ourselves, but I think our efforts have been successful. They continue to give us referrals so that other agencies in town have started calling on us frequently.

Mrs. **Jackson**: This is the other part of my question. I work in a college. I can very well communicate back to the heads of the Department of Agriculture and Home Economics that there is a new challenge out there for us. Won't you indicate some people who want to work with poor people, some home demonstration agents to work with poor people?

Miss **Russell**: We right now actually on our State level do not have a specialist in this field. This is one thing that is being thought of.

Mrs. **Jackson**: Would you recommend it?

Miss **Russell**: I would. Right now we are drawing on the resources of all of our specialists, but we do need some extra help along this line.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to thank you, ladies. You have really brightened our day. Mrs. Nunn with this very important volunteer work seemed most effective. Miss Russell, we are delighted to have you come and we are greatly appreciative of your program. In my college we have always welcomed students from North Carolina and I am sorry you missed us.

Thank you very much.

We have Marion Wright who was scheduled for yesterday. Is Marion Wright here?

James Carter?

If these friends are not present, then I will adjourn this session to meet as close to 1:30 as we can.

We will adjourn now.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., a recess was taken until 1:30 p.m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION 1:30 P.M.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we should take off on our program for the afternoon.

As a college president that presides in college assemblies, I am terribly hurt by the fact that we are late. Whenever I go to a college assembly, if we don't start on time, you know you've got 1,400 people that are about to leave.

This afternoon we begin our session with Mr. Perley Ayer, who is director of the Council of the Southern Mountains which has its office in Berea, Ky. Mr. Ayer is also a teacher in Berea College and has extensive and profound knowledge of southern Appalachian problems as well as many others.

Mr. Ayer, we welcome you, and you just proceed as you would like.

STATEMENT OF PERLEY AYER

Mr. AYER: President Hutchins and members of the Committee and everybody else in the world I can get to, I want to begin by making what is a completely obvious and trite statement, and probably the reason for these hearings, that as a nation and as a society we have an inadequate understanding of poverty, and we mistake the obvious symptoms for the disease. I think of one home with three double beds and a fireplace in one room and a lean-to kitchen, and this is the whole works. I also abound in friends, who, if they see one such, just take this to be evidence of an odd circumstance which requires their compassion and concern, but they do not understand the causes of it nor the extent of it.

Now, I would like to say, also, that we have an inadequate understanding, especially of rural poor. For example, I'm not here to try to show that we understand poverty and have a genuine concern for those who are poor by citing statistics. They have been iterated and reiterated and they are available for those who need a quantitative measure to arouse their compassion. At the same time, as we look at rural poverty, it is important, I think, for the nation to know that

50 percent of our poverty is, sure enough, in rural areas. Now, one of the desperate aspects of this is that rural poverty is not obvious nor easily understood, nor as easily understood as it is in the slums of the cities.

Now, I mean this as no negative judgment, but let's face it, I think our national understanding and response to rural poverty is influenced by an entirely subjective and nostalgic notion of pastoral bliss. These happy little people in their little cots out in the woods here.

Now, it is not only not obvious, but I would like to say in response to what has been paid here this morning, that it is not peculiarly racial. It is people at less than their best, the hard-core poor.

Just, for example—I said I will not dwell on statistics—but I think of one county, this happens to be a predominantly white county, in which at any one time there are as many as 25,000 people living on surplus commodities. I am not rendering negative judgment. If I had a bunch of kids and no job and no money I'd live on surplus commodities, too, if they were available.

I think of one county, and I could name others, where at least half of the population is on relief of some sort or other, simply because jobs, earning opportunities, are not available. These people are not needed in our society at this moment. I am talking about the hard-core poor. This is a pretty popular term, but it is usually considered to be those who wouldn't work if they had a chance, which is not true.

I have some more to say about this later, but these are people whose lifetime has been spent, their lifetime has been a lifetime of losers. They have lost out in educational competition, they have lost out in job competition. They are in a world of winners and losers, and let's face it, our economy, our society is based on this. We worship the competitive philosophy as a basic motivation, but in a world of dog eat dog, half the dogs are going to get eaten, and in a world of winners and losers, half the people are going to lose, and let's face it, the hard-core poor, by and large, have been losers all their lives, even from their early school experience.

One county I think of gave 123 diplomas last May, out of a total crop of 600 kids who entered the first grade. The majority of these kids are already losers, and it is not any wonder that they learn to expect loss and live in a world of defeat.

Now, these people are poor not only in material goods, in basic education, and I do not mean only literacy, I mean in awareness of the world in which they are and all the implications of it. They are poor in their horizons, aspirations. They are poor in their choices, and they are overshot, I mean overshot. We believe that we have isolated and stated a principle up in the Appalachian Mountains which is at work, through nobody's purposeful intent, but just inadvertent, this principle applies—that the worse you need it the less likely you are to get it; and you check this in education, in job opportunity, in retraining, you check it in any social endeavor, organized social endeavor; and we so organize ourselves and set up our rules and such that to the degree that you really need it, somehow or another you cannot stand up and qualify for it at the moment. Now, this is not a vicious thing.

Now, my next comment applies not only to rural poverty, but to poverty in general. These are different, but they are not totally differ-

207

ent. It seems to us, it seems to me, that we in America, at this moment, as a society, live by the conviction that people in poverty lack what it takes to succeed; that is, they lack individual social potential. They just don't have it, that is, not to the degree that the rest of us have it.

Now, nobody is supercilious and cruel enough to say this, but we live as if this were so. We do not see what they could have been under other circumstances, and we do not really see, and we are not motivated by what they can yet become if we really understand the situation and devote ourselves to it. Therefore, and much of what I am talking about is so second nature that we are not aware of it, we do not render negative judgment on ourselves for it; therefore, we have a related lack of dedication and skill in working with people in poverty. We work for them to alleviate their poverty, but not with them to eradicate the causes of poverty.

I keep—instances of desperate poverty keep occurring to me. I think of one man and his wife and four kids who at this moment are living in a one-room house, if you want to call it this, 12 by 18 with a busted stove, two broken beds, and if it is raining it is raining right in on one of the beds, no chairs, a few pots and pans around, and by and large we live as if we found them a couple of shingles we'd solve the problem. We are doing for and not with.

Now, I didn't submit written testimony, I didn't tell you ahead of time what I was going to say and I am glad of it, because I want to comment on something I heard this morning.

Somebody quoted the familiar phrase "all men created equal." Now, we don't really believe this and we do not mean equal in the sense of size. There is one equality to which I can commit myself and to which I can subscribe, and I think it would make more sense out of this phrase if we would talk about this. There is one basic equality, and that is the capacity of every last person, high and low, rich and poor, to become something more than he now is, and if we do not believe in this, if we believe only in equality at birth and do not believe in the equality of the potential to become something, then it is a meaningless phrase.

We, it seems to me, must reexamine our belief in the potential of people, and I would like to say here, as we contemplate poverty, urban and rural, I would like to say that in my honest opinion the greatest single and most important underdeveloped natural resource in this nation are people. You wouldn't stand this kind of waste in any other industry in the world. We are talking about millions of people who have not fulfilled or even approximated their potential, and they live in poverty because of this.

Now, this is important because it relates to what we do about it. Now, having said that poverty is severe, prevalent, and numerically important in rural areas, having tried to identify what keeps us from really coming to grips with it—it is our lack of genuine faith in what these people could become.

I would like to comment now upon our failure, which we are here to study. I take it we are here to study how badly we have done and how we can do better. All right. It is the prevalence of simple, single-shot, temporary, unrelated solutions. We are knee deep in experts who say that this will solve it or that will solve it, and I would just like quickly to run through just a half a dozen of this plethora of solutions.

Vocational training, jobs, industry, housing, migration, education, the Federal Government, bless its heart, guaranteed annual income. Almost everybody I know has sort of a doctrine, a pet solution which he hopes will be the panacea.

Now, let me comment on these for just a minute. They are every one important, but only in an interrelated way. I am talking about—again this morning you spoke of coordination. I am talking about institutional, bureaucratic, organized movement, coordination and interrelationship focused on the target, not on the agency or the means. Now, I know I am an idealist about this. I am talking about we are all in business and organized to serve and to develop people, but we go at it in relatively unrelated, parallel approaches.

Vocational training. Certainly vocational training, but vocational training is secondary to basic education, and basic education is not just education in literacy, it is education in the world today as it is and us in it.

I come from an area, let's say 257 counties, and in every one except two of these counties the adult educational achievement level is beneath the national median. This is underdevelopment in any man's language that I know. This is not a judgment on the potential. So we talk about vocational training. In 16 of these counties, a particular group that I know, 78 percent of the vocational training is in agriculture and the chances of 10 percent of these people being fruitfully employed in that field is a high guess. So vocational training for what? I heard that this morning. In this particular 16-county area the people have risen up and said let us talk about training for life rather, versus a narrow vocational training focus.

There are those who keep talking about jobs, we must find jobs for these people. They disregard the fact that—while there is a short supply of labor in many industries, with automation, with the industrial revolution in which we are—the coal mining industry has outgrown the need for manpower in many circumstances, many situations. And yet I have friends that blandly believe we must import vast industrial complexes to take the place of the coal demand for manpower, forgetting the fact that these same industries will have outgrown the use of these same men before they get in there.

Jobs. We must take another look at jobs, and I agree with the witness this morning that people should be needed and fruitfully used, for which they are then paid; but if we go hunting around for jobs which are not there we are just beating time again, marking time again, and accomplishing no good.

Now, let me speak about industry for a minute, because this is related. I have friends who believe that we must import vast industrial complexes into the areas of unemployment. They disregard the fact that this may leave a void in their wake, and we aren't talking about preferential development, we are talking about employment for people in one place. Just to speak about the interrelatedness of all this, I have on my desk a letter, an honest request from a great industry for me and my agency to help recruit 1,500 workers. This sounds like a Godsend to a man who represents areas where 7 and 8 and 10 percent unemployment is the norm. Yet when

I wrote and said what is the housing situation, this blessed man replied, well, there are few units available. Well, how do we solve the ills of the poor if we give them the best paying job you ever saw and then doom them to existence in some kind of a hastily created slum, not by anybody's purpose, but by our lack of understanding of the whole problem. I did not go into the 16-county area of 7 percent unemployment seeking to recruit 1,500 workers to go to a city where there are few housing units available. We are still working on this one. I am saying that vocational training, jobs, relocation of industry, housing, are all related. And migration from the Appalachian south—any number of people argue that outmigration is a solution, and in near Northside Chicago we have twenty-five or thirty thousand of these people who have outmigrated in hope, and their hopes have not been fulfilled, and I say outmigration to what?

I come back to education. I believe that we must somehow or another embark—end we are beginning, I think, in this nation to think of it—embark on education that involves all people all the time, preschool, in school, dropouts, postschool, adults, seniles, people in terms of today, and what is the situation and what is my place in it.

Education. Now, the Federal Government has a rural index. I go along that coordination of all the Federal and State efforts makes sense if it makes sense by responsible leadership at the local level. I hesitate to mention this, but it is part of the growing popular solution, a guaranteed annual income—as if this would automatically make people intellectually and socially great. I believe that we should find some way of sharing the means of a dignified and adequate life; but we must, if we are going to be wise, we must find some way to need these people for their significant contribution. So I really came here to testify—I really came here to testify to the necessity for having a nationwide urban and rural overall interrelated dedication and focus on people and on what they can now become in this new day and age. I am sick to death of what we can do for them to alleviate temporarily this circumstance. I am wondering what we can do with them to make them significant partners and contributors to this great nation and this world in this economy.

I was in a conference earlier this week in which a man was doing a wonderful job of housing, for inexpensive housing. But I discovered there what I suspected all along, that it is inexpensive if you can get it. If you aren't credit worthy you are still out in the cold. As a matter of fact, he used the phrase credit worthy as if this were the only worthy that there can be. And then another humanitarian and woman with a great heart in this same meeting made a great plea for people who were not credit worthy but still cold and exposed, and I thought as she spoke she was talking about the folks who were need worthy. All right. Now, one man thinks they are need worthy, but unless their credit is good we can't help them. She figures if their credit is no good but they are still need worthy we should do it. I would like to leave with you a phrase I never thought of until Tuesday of this week. I like to talk about those people who are investment worthy, and they are worthy of the investment of the best we can do because of what they could become and can yet become in this society. In a sense I find myself almost embarrassed. We come here talking about arousing the aspirations and the achievements of the poor. I find what I am really talking about, I am rendering hopeful judgment on our approach, and if our approach is right their response will be better.

President Hutchins, that's the briefest you ever heard me talk.

The CHAIRMAN: It is, yes. I really congratulate you.

Not really, Mr. Ayer, on the brevity, but on the content, because I think you have done a very fine thing in focusing our attention just a little bit differently from where it has been focused.

I wonder if members of the Commission have questions they'd like to address to Mr. Ayer.

Mr. STANLEY: Mr. Chairman, I'd ask a question if I might.

We are, of course, fellow Appalachianites and have a common interest. What specific programs—while I agree with the philosophical concepts that you expressed and the solution purpose which you expressed—what specific programs in your experience have been the most effective?

Mr. AYER: I will tell you the work experience for the fathers of dependent children has been successful, in spite of the stupid, negative emphasis that we have had in the press and so forth. We have related adult education programs to the men, who are proud to be able to sign their names for the first time in their lives, men who suddenly have discovered that folks do believe that they are competent and adequate, and under this kind of leadership they will become.

Now, the programs that make most sense to me are those that relate to the individual person.

Now, community development, this may be a bad phrase down here, I don't know what we are talking about, but a week ago today, just a week ago right now, I was in a deliberative executive planning session of rural people, and there was a man in that group who is totally illiterate. He has been desperately unemployed, he comes off a little old mountain farm, they have no toilet facilities inside or out, as a matter of fact, if we want to talk about stark living. But this man for the first time in his life was participating as a pure member of a significant group planning and executing significant community development in that area. He had discovered that he was a people too, and this was because of the encouragement he was given to be a partner in this movement, even though desperately poor in money; but this man was suddenly not so poor in hope or self-esteem or self-interest.

Now, this nationwide movement in involving people in solutions to their own problems——

Mr. STANLEY (interrupting): You believe, then, the self-involvement or total involvement which comes, emanates from the Federal programs has the effect of, within itself, being an antipoverty weapon?

Mr. AYER: It has the potential for this. In many places it does not work, but just because every batter doesn't knock a home run doesn't prove it can't be done. And so we have enough of these which have done this to show if we are patient and persistent in involving folks according to their capabilities at the moment, these capabilities increase and they can become more than they were. I can prove this man by man by man in infinite number.

Mr. **Stanley**: I think, Mr. Ayer, the Commission is aware that through the fine work that the Council of Southern Mountains has done under your leadership that you have certainly put this principle to work and helped literally hundreds of people, thousands of them, I suppose, directly by this kind of person-to-person contact.

Mr. **Ayer**: This is what it does.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Davis.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Mr. Ayer, I am almost totally committed to your philosophy about people. I run a school, I get myself in trouble trying to help everybody, you know, all the students that need help.

Mr. **Ayer**: Let me say you ought to get yourself in trouble.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Then the legislature and the State auditors come in and say this was a bad transaction.

You spoke of investment in people. You get down to the practical side of how does a man make his project pay for itself or how does the government justify this expenditure in terms of business procedure. Would you think in terms of the investment being a Federal investment, that is, a government investment, a private industry investment, or a combined industry-government investment in people? After all, in the final analysis, books have to balance out. I am not differing with you, I am just trying to get an understanding of what your thinking is with respect to a practical point of view. How do you do these things?

Mr. **Ayer**: It is a total investment. We have had testimony this morning from a lay participant. We are at the point where we could involve the people of this nation investing themselves in the lives of people. In North Carolina, for example, they had 1,500 college students last year giving their time as tutors to kids in high school and grade school who could not make it otherwise. This is the sort of thing I am talking about—our total investment in people, and Federal funds, of course, State funds, of course. But there are unnumbered things that we could do, if we did it on a voluntary people-to-people basis, to upgrade the potential and not screen them out.

Now, I can't resist talking about our stupid commitment to the win-or-lose philosophy. I went in a school system not very long ago, a countywide system, in which they were discussing dropouts. When I asked them what they had done about it, they looked at me and said what's the matter with this old fellow. They said we studied it, of course. After the meeting the superintendent, bless his heart, came up to me and behind his hand sort of whispered to me most of these kids ought to drop out, you know that. What he meant was they do not graduate and do credit to my system, they mess up my building. He was oriented to his program, his building, his academic reputation. And I said to him, they ought to drop out, into what? Nobody had ever asked him this before. And, well, he said, that's the question.

I think sometimes in terms of the involvement of the establishment. If, instead of opposing the establishment, we ask it, all right, so what, and ask what can we do. Now, there was something said here this morning, I wasn't invited to comment on this, about when the establishment and the dominant group opposed these programs. I can tell you that where these programs oppose the dominant groups, they get opposition in return. But if you go to the dominant group and say what can we do, they will work with you, not 100 percent, but they will work with you much better than if they get opposition. And if we are speaking for doing it better than we did before, it is a pretty persuasive approach.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Ford has a question.

Mr. **Ford**: I take it from your testimony that you don't agree with some of the views that have been expressed in these hearings that if you just turn the money over to the poor people and let them work out their own solutions and get off our back with all of these bureaucrats and get the power structure out of the way we would arrive at a solution to it?

Mr. **Ayer**: Of course not. You teach a 16-year-old boy to drive, you didn't give him a license until he learns. It is not discredit to his intellect that you want him to have some experience in this.

Now, most of this negative judgment of the involvement of the poor has been a completely predictable inadequacy of them to run their own programs.

You wouldn't turn the helm of a ship over to a 6-year-old and then criticize him for not being able to dock that ship in Boston Harbor until he had a little training. We must give them experience, and they must become adequate. But you can't simply prove that they don't have it just by saying they aren't adequate today. We must temper the responsibility we give them to their ability to absorb it and use it, and this is no negative judgment on their ultimate potential. But you can give a guy so much freedom today that he can prove to a nonthinking audience that he'd never have it.

Mr. **Ford**: Thank you.

The **Chairman**: Another question?

Mr. **Ayer**: If that's it, that's it.

The **Chairman**: We thank you, Mr. Ayer. You were very, very helpful indeed; we deeply appreciate your coming.

Our next witness this afternoon is Mr. Hank Brown, president, Texas AFL–CIO from Austin, Tex.

Mr. Brown, we welcome you.

STATEMENT OF H. S. "HANK" BROWN

Mr. **Brown**: Thank you very much. I appreciate the opportunity and the invitation to come.

My name is H. S. "Hank" Brown and I am president of Texas AFL–CIO, some 350,000 working people who belong to some 2,200 local unions. That sounds like a goodly number until you recognize that there are 4 million workers in our State. And I am especially honored to come because whether we like it or not, we are the State of the Union that dispels the popular conception of Texas by virtue of television and late shows which would leave the impression that we are just loaded with cattle barons and oil barons and everybody is driving pink or white Cadillacs.

The **Chairman**: You mean it is not true?

Mr. **Brown**: The facts are that we are the State of the Union with the largest number of poverty-stricken families in the entire United States. I am not going to cite to you the figures of a national level. If this Commission does not know them now I doubt the value of this meeting.

I am pleased that this Commission is in business, and I am pleased that the President realizes just how urgent and demanding this business really is.

The doctor just spoke a minute ago, 30 percent of our people live in the rural area, yet over 50 percent of the poverty is there. In creating our own definition of equal opportunity some 5 years ago, my own—what we like to call the pure white Anglo-Saxon—members making $4 and $5 an hour in the industrial areas of our State, used to refer to our efforts in south and east Texas as our east and south Texas rathole, where we opened up just what we called public information offices just to tell these people, who most of which can't neither read nor write, what the minimum wage law is, who is entitled to it, how do you file a complaint if you don't get it, if somebody is supposed to pay you overtime and doesn't, who do you see about it and how can you do this without otherwise losing what job you have and enjoying what pittance you have. And so we know something about poverty, and I would merely reflect this in my report to you which I have presented to the secretary of the Committee, and I hope that the Commission will have the opportunity at a later hour to study it.

There is a popular story in Texas about the chicken and the pig walking down the road, and they see a sign and it says, "Ham and eggs, buck and a quarter." That's in some parts of the State. The chicken nudges the pig and says, "Look here, ol' buddy," he says, "we're partners." The pig gets highly indignant and says, "Partners my foot," he says. "For you that egg is just going to be one day's work, but for me the ham comes at an extreme price."

While we have great wealth, we also have great, great poverty. Farmworkers, at least in our State, are the most poverty stricken, they are the most depressed, they are the most underprivileged working people in the nation. Sixteen percent of our people are what we call the Mexican-American citizens. Some 12 percent are Negro. By '70 they will be almost one-third of the total population of our State, and yet they are the last hired, the first fired. Discrimination with all of the efforts of the EEOC is rampant. Certain people in certain areas in business, in labor unions, and all others, if their name is Sanchez they can go so far and that's all.

Mr. Roosevelt is head of the EEOC. On a trip through the Southwest he reported 800 national firms, 800 national firms without a single Mexican-American employee beyond the janitorial or elevator man level. In east Texas the situation runs pretty much the same. So I hope there are a few facts that I might enlighten here. The statement of Dr. Bill Crook, the head of the OEO in Texas, now head of National VISTA, who finished a tour through rural Big Bend country, have pictures, very beautiful, brings in millions of tourist dollars every year, doesn't help the folks down there much, though, that need the help. He said Texans would gag on their food if they could witness the kind of poverty I have seen in the pictures taken in Big Bend country. I don't know how much longer Americans or Texans believe that we can continue to oppress, as we have the so-called right-to-work laws.

The labor unions are attempting through the system of free enterprise and collective bargaining to organize workers, where they will enjoy decent wages and decent working conditions. Nineteen of our States, mostly in the South, have done all they could to hamper and hamstring the growth of labor unions in these States. You take the statistics of those 19 States and you will find that there is more poverty, more cheap wages, and more problems for people than all of the other States, and they have an income below the national average, save Nevada, whose principal occupation is gambling. Maybe that's the answer. Maybe legalized gambling will solve all of our problems. I don't know what it has done in Nevada, they seem to do well in Reno and Las Vegas on the two occasions I have had to be there, but in Texas where we are not so blessed, we rank fifth in population, sixth in industry, and thirty-fifth in per capita income in the nation. One of our legal documents put out by our State industrial commission, brags "Come to Texas with your industry." We have more antilabor laws than any other State in the Union. Is it any wonder that we have over 800,000 people who are illiterate, who can neither read nor write in any language? Is it any wonder that 50,000 of them have absolutely no ability whatsoever to be able to read or write at all? These are functioning illiterates, over 800,000. Is it any wonder that we have some 500,000 workers who make less than a dollar an hour?

Now, this business of agriculture is big business. Last week the president of the Farm Bureau of Texas said that it is a $7 billion business and affects 40 percent of our jobs, direct or indirect. He then went on to say that Texas ranked second only to California, and their direct receipts were $1.3 billion. Now, I agree with the Texas Bureau president—one of the few times in history that the president of the Farm Bureau and the president of the AFL-CIO are going to agree. It is big business and as such we ought to treat it like a big business. We ought to realize that the standards of the farmworker are as important to the well-being of America as the worker that works in an auto plant or in an oil refinery. This old hodgepodge that we are going to somehow depress the family farmer if we set up decent standards of wages for the farmworker is just so much Fifth Avenue hot air and malarky, and the facts are here as published by the Farm Bureau. Fifty-two percent of all the farms use no workers at all, 6 percent of the large corporate farms accounted for 75 percent of all the money that was paid out in wages, and get this—these are their figures—30 percent of all the wages paid to farmworkers was made by one-half of one percent of the corporate farms of this country. The small farmer is not what is hiring the labor, and, as such, the workers that work farms are entitled to minimum wage law protection, the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, and the right to decide if they want a union, the right to be certified as a collective bargaining agent where they have selected a union by secret ballot if they chose it. They are entitled to the protection of the child labor laws. They ought to be protected by the unemployment compensation law that protects the oil worker, the auto worker, or the machinist or the plumber. They ought to be protected by workmen's compensation law, and we ought to recognize and take them out of the law of the jungle that they are currently in. That would be the best thing I know that we could do about poverty in America in the rural area and that's to begin to treat the people like they were a human being and part of this thing we call the American dream.

These aren't my figures, these are published by the Department of Labor. Rural poverty—and I am not going to cite them to you, but here on this map (indicating) and you can see where it is at in Texas—it is all in south and east Texas; and in east Texas it is Negroes, and this big green area that you see is all over 25 percent Latin American population, and this shaded green is all Negro, and the 22 counties of our State that have less than $2,000 a year income is in those green shaded areas. And so while we speak about civil rights, the best thing you can do for a man to guarantee him civil rights and equal treatment is to pay him a decent living wage and he'll get him some freedom, he'll find a way. So I suggest that in counties like Starr with an average income, family income of $1,500, or in San Jacinto with $1,700, or Zapata with $1,766, or in Rains with $2,044, that we need to take our foot off of his neck and give him a chance, and he will make it himself if he is given the educational opportunity and can have the protection that the rest of the workers of America have.

Our Good Neighbor Commission, set up as a kind of a force to study the problems of migratory workers, reflects in their official report that the migratory worker has increased. We now have 167,000 of them who migrate from our State into other States to make a living. In 1964 the figure was 129,000. This past year there was an increase of 38,600 of those people that have to leave Texas in order to survive. And how do they survive? Well, they report that they made less than $1,000 for their efforts. Eighty percent of them traveled out of the State to earn the money, and 95 percent of Texas migratory farmworkers are Mexican-Americans who call the Lone Star State their home.

I have already mentioned to you that we have 829,218 functioning illiterates, and so we need some kind of a bilingual educational program so that they can read and write, and if we can't teach them English, let's teach them to be functional in Spanish, and at least they'll be useful citizens in that regard.

The office of education reports 498,224 children in Texas families having less than $2,000 a year. Some people say why don't they get a job, why are they lazy, why do they just sit around, why do they want a handout?

You know it is a lot easier for these same folks to make their annual contribution to the United Fund and to the Community Chest and feel that their obligation is over. Well, it is not over. I think that we need to give these people the chance by teaching them, and I will recommend to you some of the things that we of the labor movement who have been doing our own studying on the problem.

First of all, we think that the step taken by the Congress in enacting for the first time minimum wage coverage for 400,000 American workers was one of the greatest steps in the history of this country, except we need to cover them all.

Secondly, we find in our studies that employment has risen and not fallen off as a result of minimum wage; profits, since 1961 amendments, have been greater than in any other period of the history of this country or of the world, and yet 10 million workers are deprived of this protection and they need to be included.

Two-thirds of all white workers are covered, yet 50 percent of the nonwhite workers are not covered by the law. Two-thirds of the nonsupervisory jobs are covered where men are involved, and yet only 50 percent of the jobs are covered where women are involved. So it is obvious that the law in itself is discriminating against the nonwhite worker and against the woman worker, and isn't it silly?

We have a national civil rights law that covers both of these subjects, and I say to you the law, as it is operated today with these exclusions, make it a farce. We are kind of like the politician, we are going to be all right on that. You see, half of our friends are for killing squirrels and half are against it, so if somebody wants to know where we stand on the squirrel law, we are all right because we are going to stay with our friends. And it looks like some of our laws are passed to be elected to office more than they are to be concerned with the problem.

We urge, therefore, minimum wage protection for every single worker in America, and we believe the statistics will show that this will be the first great blow against poverty in the rural parts of our country.

In addition to that, any of these programs in the War on Poverty, which we salute as a beginning, will have a highly questionable effect if we neglect to put some legislative protection as I suggested. These people on charity don't want it. They want a job and an opportunity to have some place in the American sun.

Now, Senator Harrison Williams has introduced some bills that do just that and this Commission would do well to look at some of them. He proposes on the first part to give the workers the protection of the National Labor Relations Act as all other workers now have, just as traveling transits of the building trades enjoy the protection under Section 8 (f) of the 1947 National Labor Relations Act. He suggests also that we have a prohibition on harmful child labor in agriculture, that we have more money and an improved replacement service for migratory workers, to establish a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor, to give farmers a tax incentive if they will provide decent housing and decent facilities instead of putting them up in shacks.

You know, we did this for the bracero. We set up certain minimum standards under which the bracero could be brought in from Mexico. But we have no standards unless the State has them, and only three have State standards. And, furthermore, that we give them a right to vote, which is supposed to be their first God-given right. But by virtue of their migration in order to seek employment most of them have never voted, and he [Senator Williams] provides in this [bill] an opportunity that in their mobility they would have an opportunity to vote if they were otherwise qualified as citizens, and certainly I think we should do this.

One other great problem we have in Texas that other States may not have, and that is the commuter daily problem, known as the "green card" holder. Under Public Law 414, which should be changed, there are 90,000 to 100,000 people crossing our Mexican borders every day into Texas. They take the jobs for less than 50 percent of their fellow Latin American, Mexican-American citizens. We say if they want to work in America let them live in America and not be depressing the wage level of this entire community of which the wage level is the lowest in the country.

Dr. George Sanchez, director of the center for international education at the University of Texas, says, "The commuter problem along the border is scandalous. A woman living in Juarez will work in El Paso for less than half the salary required by a U.S. Mexicana." When Secretary of Labor Bill Wirtz tried to stop this traffic flow not long ago the whole roof fell in. Secretary Dean Rusk was concerned about the international affairs with Mexico. Other government agencies became highly solicitous as to what would this do to the economy of Mexico. Nobody was caring what it was doing to 100,000 workers in Texas. Nobody was concerned that there was 14 to 17 percent unemployment in Laredo, and 21,000 people were crossing the bridge every day taking jobs for a dollar.

The maids in the biggest hotel in Laredo up until the minimum wage law of this week were making $11 a week for 60 hours, and I have it documented, and it was in our testimony before the Supreme Court of the United States asking them to stop this traffic of 100,000 people who take these jobs, and they are hungry and our citizens in Texas are hungry as a result of it. We don't want to disturb our relationship with Mexico. I say let's give them a grant under foreign aid and stop exploiting their workers and ours as a means of subsidizing their economy.

So I hope that you will study some of these, and I specifically conclude with nine recommendations.

One, Vietnam is essential and important and we must meet our commitments to keep the free world free, but let's not do it at the expense of the American working people and thus promote more poverty in rural America, of which Texas, although it is becoming a great industrial State, it is also still a great agricultural and cattle State. We propose, therefore, an extension of OEO Title III-B programs for farmworkers in education, sanitation, day care, and additional projects under CAP;

Additional rural loan programs to aid farmowners;

Training in agricultural skills under MDTA and Area Redevelopment;

Farmworker inclusion in all the protections of all social legislation that all industrial workers have, particularly with regard to unemployment compensation which the States have demonstrated they will not pass due to the pressures of the farm lobby;

Farm labor counseling programs such as the National Sharecroppers Fund counseling the unemployed poor about jobs and training, and making it possible as they transit to the urban areas where they are going that they have some skill when they get there and not become just another person in a big-city ghetto;

Safety legislation to cover agricultural workers, which the National Safety Council calls the most hazardous industry, below only mining and construction industries;

Additional efforts by the EEOC to investigate discrimination, not only against the Negro but against the Mexican-American who has been given relatively less attention by the Federal Government because it is a regional problem;

The prohibition of foreign workers who are still taking jobs away from U.S. citizens even though the cessation of the Bracero program proved the domestic workers could still do the work;

And lastly, two bills just introduced by our senior Senator, Ralph Yarborough—the Bilingual American Education Act and the Southwestern Human Resources Development Act—so that we could have a Marshall plan in south Texas and east Texas to restore that part of the world to its feet as we did our enemies after we had signed the peace treaty. We favored that plan, and we favor these plans for our own American citizens, and it will cost a great deal less and it will produce a great deal more.

Thank you very much.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. Brown, for your very fine presentation.

Any questions?

Mr. **Bonnen**: Mr. Brown, I share your concern that employment conditions not involve putting people in situations where they are working at sweatshop wage rates, but as we learned this morning, the implementation of minimum wage, even as inadequate as that level seems in many cases, can create problems. Mr. Hodding Carter pointed out this morning what the result in the Delta would be on these very, very low income, unskilled, many illiterate people—unemployment to the extent of as many as 20,000 families. Now, some people have argued that if you impose a minimum wage you have some responsibilities for these impacts. Would you be in favor of such things as have been suggested as, say, where the Government imposes a minimum wage that the Government pay a minimum wage to those who cannot find private employment at that wage rate?

Mr. **Brown**: I would be in favor of more extensive Manpower Development Training Act programs in assisting these people in relocation to where the job opportunities are and assisting them with the necessary skills so that they would be useful citizens. If this entailed a period of a year in which we would be supporting them in this period I would certainly favor that. In the long haul, once we have trained them and put them in a job opportunity they become, then, in my opinion, what Hubert Humphrey said, they become a tax payer instead of a tax eater, and I think that's important.

Mr. **Bonnen**: That's true, some portion of these people have great native skills; basically they have just never had an opportunity to train. But there are others, also, in that population group that are of such age or in such health that they really have very little potential in terms of training and education. What would you—they are kind of marginally employed here at very low wages, but yet it is the difference between starving to death and not starving to death. What do we do about these people?

Mr. **Brown**: I would help subsidize those people, I would certainly recommend it, because if we continue to just permit a low wage, this perpetuates the scheme forever, and as this generation moves on let us hope that we do more in this country, that we do more for the next one than we did for the last one.

Mr. **Bonnen**: What alternatives would you take, guaranteed annual incomes, such things as that?

Mr. **Brown**: I certainly would not hesitate to recommend it for those particular people so that we could uplift the whole of America in this whole system. But to say that I am going to recommend that we perpetuate low wages and not pay a decent wage and not give the protection of the standard of living to all of the workers because these people are at least eking out an existence means that I favor continuation of this scheme forever and ever and ever and perpetuation of this scheme forever and ever. We have a group of these people here, we don't think we can do anything with them, yet we can't just kick them out in the street and starve to death, and I will subsidize them. We are already doing it with many other kinds of welfare and charity programs all over the country.

Mr. **Bonnen**: I wanted to make a choice among these various alternatives. Do you see any of them being better than others?

Mr. **Brown**: Not knowing the specifics I think I have answered the best I can.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: One is just to clarify what I thought I heard you say, the other is a question.

One, did you say that in some of the cities near the Texas border, Texas-Mexico border, Mexicans come into America, come into Texas cities and work?

Mr. **Brown**: Worse than that. We have a situation where the United Farm Workers organizing committee, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, has been organizing in Starr County, the strikebreakers and scabs that cross those picket lines every day are brought in as Mexican citizens, but from Matamoros across——

Mr. **Lawrence Davis** (interrupting): Do they cross daily?

Mr. **Brown**: Every day, on what is called a "green card." They come over in America, they work in Texas, and at night they cross back over and live in Mexico.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: The other thing was, some of our training programs have experienced a problem where apprenticeship periods are required for these people to become skilled craftsmen. There has been a feeling among Negroes in our training institutions that the labor unions have prevented us from giving our trainees apprentice experience. Are you familiar with that complaint?

Mr. **Brown**: Fairly so. I think in some instances that this has been so. In our particular State I can report to you that we encourage the NAACP, and we work with its leadership, and we work with CORE, and we work with the G.I. Forum to file complaints with us; and our director, Henry Moños, will go in and meet with the officers of those unions and say unless you can, within a reasonable time of 30 days (or if they've got some other procedure, 60 days) work this out, we will help these people file charges against this organization, because our constitution provides for the dropping of all these bars and barters. I don't hope we are going to do all this in one year, but there is an awareness. I think we have less of that as a problem today.

There are two problems I think that relate, us changing the habits of these folks. One is that the job opportunities in the apprenticeship fields are highly limited. For example, in this whole country there are only about 175,000 registered apprentices, and you can check this with the U.S. Department of Labor. I think we ought to be stepping up.

Now, some of my national leadership will not appreciate this, but as a building trades man who came out of a plumbers union, I think we ought to have a million young men in apprenticeship jobs right now, and we are going to have to do a little arm twisting and persuading but I think that's important. A country this big with a work force of 75 million ought to have a million young men in apprenticeship training jobs today. Not lowering the standard, still requiring good high standard so we can turn out good qualified men. This will take some arm twisting, but we are doing that all the time anyway.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. LAUREL: Hank, that's very interesting because I think we had some testimony along those lines of apprenticeship. Who would you propose that the regulations be set by?

Mr. BROWN: I would recommend the setting up of a commission through the Department of Labor with the National Building and Construction Trades Department, and in turn you'd have these State offices in almost every major city in the nation, the Department of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship. In turn, I would, through Mr. Meaney's office and Mr. Neal Hagarty's office, create this study commission and just lay the facts out, and in turn if we couldn't get some voluntary cooperation then you'd probably have to talk to the Congress, and I favor having about five times as many young men in your apprenticeship trades as we have today.

Mr. LAUREL: Would you get business involved in it, also, to cooperate?

Mr. BROWN: They are part of these things. The whole apprenticeship program is a tributary. A BAT committee, on which I served for years and was secretary for the plumbing and pipefitting industry, is made up of a number of members of the management, it is made up of X number of members of the union who is the certified collective bargaining agent in the case; and the Bureau of Apprenticeship oversees and kind of supervises the whole program. I would involve all of these people, and I would try to see that these standards are open in such a way that more young people—for example, I would favor maintaining a high school level. I would favor amendment to the standards that if a young man was so unfortunate that he didn't get high school, if he would agree as part of the apprenticeship program that he would finish his high school at the same time he was finishing learning his trade, or he would not become a graduate plumber or electrician or machinist; that as a school dropout he could do two things, one, he could learn the trade, and, two, he could finish his high school while he was learning the trade, and that this would be the requirement before he could become a journeyman of that. Given an opportunity to learn any trade, a man that was eager would certainly agree to this, and I know it can be done because I did it myself. That's how I finished and got my certificate at Fox Tech in San Antonio.

Mr. FORD: Mr. Brown, I am having a little difficulty in your testimony trying to determine, what is the size of this wageworker group with which most of your testimony was concerned? How many people are we talking about, what proportion of the total rural poverty group in Texas do they constitute?

Mr. BROWN: In what regard, the migratory workers?

Mr. FORD: No; you were talking about these wageworkers, I presume, who have been making less than the minimum.

Mr. BROWN: We have 500,000 workers in our State who make less than $1 an hour, and there are roughly 3,900,000 workers.

Mr. FORD: Are these rural that you are talking about?

Mr. BROWN: This figure is not rural, it is both rural and urban. I do not have that particular figure broken down on a rural basis.

Mr. Ford: Well, you were talking about the concentration of most of these wageworkers——

Mr. Brown (interrupting): In this instance I think you will find that at least 50 percent—using the figures of the 24 depressed counties, all of which are either east Texas, with a very high Negro population, or south Texas—I think you would find over 50 percent of that figure would be in these green shaded areas.

Mr. Ford: The low wages, this is what I am trying to establish, is it the low wages that they are paid, or are most of these wageworkers, are they simply small farmers who are not engaged in wagework?

Mr. Brown: The people I am speaking of who make less than a dollar are wage earners. They are part of the work force as reported by the Texas Employment Commission and they are not farm owners. These are wage earners, workers.

Mr. Ford: Just a passing point that you made, but it interested me, and a little off the subject of the major portion of your testimony, but you were talking about the tourist industry in Big Bend and you said it didn't help the people much. Now, we know this is very frequently advocated as a solution to the problems of rural poverty in some of our more picturesque and scenic areas. I wonder if you would comment on that, why it doesn't.

Mr. Brown: Well, it helps, certainly, when a large number of people come to any great tourist area. They are staying in the hotels. A little fun at night, what we call visiting the libraries and museums, is generally beneficial to tavern owners and club owners, and it is beneficial to those people involved in the motel and travel business, gasoline stations, and that kind of thing. But to the average guy that's out there working for 50 and 60 cents an hour, and we have hundreds of thousands of them, he does not get to share in this particular situation other than it helps perhaps have him hold that pittance of a job at that low a wage. And, therefore, I do not think that the solution to the problem we have talked about is to perpetuate the low wages, but at the same time want another million people to come into Texas and see the Alamo and see the beauty of the Big Bend and to go down into south Texas and see the lovely, what we call the lovely country. We sometimes also call it the Tragic Valley instead of the Magic Valley because of so much low education, no job opportunities, not much industry, nothing but agriculture, no hope.

Mr. Ford: If I might pursue just one more point, you pointed out that Texas was sixth in industrialization and thirty-fifth in per capita income and you juxtaposed these. Is your implication, then, that industrialization isn't providing a solution?

Mr. Brown: Oh, it certainly is. In six major counties of Texas, without it we'd be tied with Mississippi, you see, for the per capita income; so we have come a long way from fiftieth to thirty-fifth by virtue of the industrialization. But where is it? It is in Houston and Texas City and Galveston. It is in Beaumont. It is in Fort Worth and Dallas to some degree. Now, those average incomes of those cities and the people there, that's where the money is at, and that's why by 1980 that's where 80 percent of our population is going to be, creating some more problems of urban poverty. We'll then have a Presidential Commission studying that, don't you see. But the point I am making to you is that this has not created the improvement in the areas that you are particularly concerned here with and that's the rural poverty.

For example, they reported Houston's average income and family median—as compared with these twenty some counties I have listed for you—Houston, $8,600 as compared with Starr County's $1,577. There is lots of money being made, and 80 percent of our population is doing well, but they are doing much better in the urban areas where the jobs are than they are in the rural parts of your State. That was my point.

Mr. **Gallegos**: Mr. Brown, I wonder if you'd comment on a couple of things. Your suggestion for the providing of more counseling and more relationship to training programs to farmworkers means that we may have to take a look, or maybe I should ask you, should we take a look at the Farm Placement Bureau and the Bureau of Employment Security and the way in which they are set up?

Mr. **Brown**: I would certainly recommend it. I think they leave much to be desired under their present programs.

Mr. **Gallegos**: Then in terms of the commuter problem, do you know of any legislation that has been proposed which will attempt to, in effect, make it mandatory for a commuter or potential commuter or resident on either side of the Mexican border now to declare residence as one way of controlling the commuter system to make it necessary that——

Mr. **Brown** (interrupting): We are advised that such a bill will be introduced into this session of the Congress. We have not found anyone that would take on the wrath of the Farm Bureau in Texas that's willing to do that, but we are advised that a couple of our California friends do plan to introduce such a bill where they have a similar but not as bad a problem, because there they at least have to comply with the State minimum wage law of California, where in Texas our minimum wage law is zero. Now, such a bill is pending before this session of the legislature introduced by Representative Cruise from Houston and Joe Bennau from San Antonio, but it is strange our own Governor did not recommend it, while he recommended other things, such as liquor by the drink and more tourist trade, both of which I favor, incidentally, but not as much as I feel the need for minimum wage legislation.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Stanley, one more.

Mr. **Stanley**: Mr. Brown, since you are a colleague of mine, this question may sound a little self-serving, but using as a point of reference your comments in your testimony relative to a right-to-work law in Texas, which according to your thesis has held down per capita income, organization of workers, et cetera, and also your reference to the per capita income of Texas which you say ranks thirty-fifth, I wonder if you could tell us what is your average income in covered employment?

Mr. **Brown**: In Texas, covered employment as reported by the TEC covers approximately 2 million of the workers of the 3,900,000, so that 1,900,000 are not covered; and in that regard the average wage was reported as $104, average industrial wage was reported as one zero four per week.

Mr. **Stanley**: I have a little personal interest in it. Yesterday I testified before a State legislature with respect to tax-related programs. One of the opponents of the program was an industrialist representing DuPont Corporation, and he advised the committee that DuPont had, on the basis of the favorable tax climate in Texas, decided to take two rather large extensions that they were contemplating from my State to your State. Well, I feel a little badly about this.

Mr. Brown: I feel badly about it, although we could use the jobs. I think that we ought to have national legislation to prohibit this. I think they are coming to Texas not so much—and if you see the Governor's tax message, they may want to keep their plants in West Virginia—but in any event, I think they come because the wage level is cheaper, because it is a right-to-work State. There is not a single DuPont company organized in the State of Texas, and they know that there are more and more workers available for less and less money. I think that's as much of an attraction to them as is our tax structure.

Mr. Stanley: That's very unlikely.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Brown. It was very helpful indeed to have you with us.

Our next witness is Mr. San Lee of Albia, Iowa, regarding the Volunteer in Service to America.

Mr. Lee.

STATEMENT OF SAN LEE

Mr. Lee: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, although I work as a VISTA volunteer, I am testifying as a private citizen rather than a VISTA volunteer in order that I have a broader scope.

The War against Poverty must go on. It must continue so that the waste of human resources, the waste of human youthful talents, and the waste of economic growth can be controlled.

A body cannot remain whole and vigorous if part of it is diseased. So in America, in order that our nation remain strong, healthy, and prosperous, we cannot allow part of our nation to be diseased by constant poverty in our midst.

It is our American heritage to give aid to those in distress, not only at home but across the seven seas. But so often some of us forget that in the backstreets of America there are today thousands of Americans in distress.

The voice of rural America must not only be heard, but actions must be accelerated to answer the needs of that voice, not tomorrow, but now.

As I said, I am testifying as a concerned private citizen who supports the War on Poverty and believes in a concept of Economic Opportunity Act.

The poor of rural America have long been neglected; the time for helping them has too long been overdue. My testimony is based on direct experience I have gained in working with rural people, both rich and poor. It is based on personal observations on the workings of public and private establishments, and Federal agencies.

The first thing I want to discuss with you is the welfare agency.

It is not my purpose to be judge and jury to say whether welfare is doing a good or a bad job. This is not the issue. The issue is, whether welfare today is serving the poor adequately, whether welfare is approaching poverty in the right direction, whether welfare is not encouraging poverty to persist indirectly, and whether the welfare agency is long overdue for a major overhaul in its dealings with the poor.

Let it be known, the era of welfare handouts is over; now is the era of economic opportunity aid. The handout function of welfare has robbed the poor of their dignity, self-confidence, and self-reliance. In return for welfare handouts, the poor have always to sacrifice their privacy and human decency. And, consequently, when a man's pride and privacy and decency is taken away from him, what else do you expect from that man, what good, if any, do you see in him? Is he to be totally blamed for remaining in the rut? No wonder we call him by so many names, a bum, lazy, lack of initiative, lack of self-pride, and a hundred others, when actually it's the structure of our society and the outmoded formula of our welfare program that have been feeding and breeding poverty before our very eyes.

To quote an old proverb: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach him to fish and you feed him for a lifetime." As I said, now is the era of economic opportunities. Welfare handouts must be replaced by opportunity for human redevelopment. We must teach the poor to fish, aiming at self-help, self-esteem, self-reliance.

The era of economic opportunity aid demands: The reassessment of human innate ability, the redevelopment of human capability, and the reestablishment of self-pride and confidence toward self-sufficiency, through understanding, motivation, guidance, education, good medical care, and above all, genuine interest and dedication in wanting to help fellow Americans.

The reason why I have brought up welfare as my first topic is that welfare is the oldest agency I know of that has the longest contact with the poor. If there are 30 million poor with us today, perhaps we should first examine the formula that welfare has been using through the years. Has welfare been going in the right direction, or has welfare failed us?

It is only through looking at the facts face to face, and the meeting of minds, that new solutions can be found, new innovations made, new ideas experimented. I believe it is time to evaluate the accomplishments and objectives of welfare and reorient its course toward eliminating poverty.

Perhaps the time has come to look into the possibility of incorporating the welfare agency in the Office of Economic Opportunity in order that the poor will have direct and two-way communication about their ills and the opportunity for change; to look into the possibility of having all welfare agency personnel retrained and made to understand the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act; to have a fresh approach in examining the problems of a welfare family, and treat their affairs as a whole entity rather than separate units, because poverty is indeed a family affair.

You cannot take good care of the children, if the father or mother is constantly ill in the house. You cannot take care of the family budget, if the little ones are lacking medical attention, when a cold with one member of the family can generate into a tragedy for the entire family. You cannot have good medical attention if the house has cracks on the wooden walls and fails to keep the cold out, the roof is leaking, and the stove is not well supplied with fuel; when children are in rags; when there are no fresh-water and sewage systems, when dilapidated housing is made worse by poor sanitation; when roads are still unpaved, and no playground for the children. That is distress for rural Americans, that is rural poverty.

The next topic is the employment agency. The employment office is the first place to screen as well as to reject the misfits. In other words, they are the first to notice the potential poor. The question is, are they also the first to do something about the man who is going to be the potential welfare recipient tomorrow because of his disqualification for employment? If not, why not? We have the Manpower Development and Training Act enacted some 4 years ago, the Vocational Education Act 3 years ago, the Economic Opportunity Act 2 years ago. Why are the unemployed and the so-called misfits that passed through the employment office remaining unemployed, untrained? Why are the resources provided by the various acts not being utilized? That is a good question to consider.

Perhaps the Labor Department from higher up should pass down mandatory policies, that no man who is found disqualified for a job should be turned away by the employment office without first insuring that that man has been referred to other agencies for retraining for a new skill, or be reeducated to qualify for a different job. Only in this way can the cancerous germ of poverty be isolated and kept under control.

You can't pick up a child without bending down. In the same manner you can't eliminate the causes of poverty without reaching out. We have to be sensitive to the needs of the poor. We have to provide the incentive as well as the initiative. You don't leave it to the poor to take the initiative; if they knew how, they wouldn't be poor. We should provide the guidance and leadership. Above all, we have to provide the second chance.

Across the nation there have been criticisms about the OEO giveaway programs. If there is anyone who has been receiving these giveaways, it must have been the middle class, and certainly not the hard-core poor. Because I have known of cases who still do not know what the OEO programs are about. These are the poor who never had the chance to participate in the programs. They never had the chance and they might never will, because, in the community in which they live, the middle class continue to lock them out. They are being locked out because they speak a language different from that of the middle class. As a result, no dialogue is established. Communication is one way. The middle class still decide what the poor should or should not have because of the structure of the OEO funding procedures which require the participation of the poor with the middle class. As such, their attitude toward the middle class remains unchanged. They remain dominated because of their inability to articulate as well. They remain voiceless because they are still the minority in the setting of a middle-class meeting in which they must participate if they need help. To seek help they must sacrifice their independence of thought and rely on the middle class to decide for them. The cycle of poverty repeats itself when the poor lose their independence.

Unless OEO comes up with poverty technicians to work with the poor and help them organize exclusively, and resolve their problems independently, it is difficult to conceive how we can reach the hardcore poor that we are so interested in.

Providing with money alone will not solve all community problems or eliminate all poverty causes. Rapport with the poor has first to be established before confidence can be instilled. And confidence has to be instilled before participation can be encouraged. Promises of better things to offer are not enough; immediate response to their request for help must be taken.

The lives of the poor have been surrounded by so much daily failure that unless you give them a taste of instant success, it is difficult to convince them of your good intention to help. Instant success means quick processing of applications, quick funding of programs. Don't tell them to come up with programs and then turn around to say, "We ain't got the funds, but you wait."

One of the reasons why the OEO program has a bad image is that at the initiation of the program, there was a lack of orientation for CAP personnel. This was compounded by the fact that the middle class were not made to recognize the poverty problems in their area. As a result, there was a lack of interest to help on the part of the middle class, and the poor searched in the dark. To remedy this situation, OEO has to publicize its programs nationwide and project a fresh image on which the success of many community action programs depend.

Recently, OEO has come up with an idea of funding CAP programs on a yearly package-deal basis. The purpose, I understand, is to make appropriation easier for the regional offices and perhaps save a lot of work. In other words, we are telling the poor, project all your needs and think ahead, and come up with a one-shot deal. We expect you to, and do as we say if you want funding next year.

The question is, is this package deal in funding feasible in answering the changing needs of the poor? Or should the initial method of funding a program as and when the need arises be continued? What should take priority, the elimination of poverty or the process of funding?

And finally, should you see poverty in a community, you can rest assured that it is a product of irresponsibility of that community. In a rural situation, the rural poor are no doubt slower in the process of change; perhaps patience has been their vice rather than a virtue. But it would be unreasonable not to expedite our aid to the rural poor because they are less violent in their demands, more restrained in their requests, and self-disciplined in not picketing for attention. Indeed, they are a different breed from the poverty stricken found in the urban areas. By tradition they are able to withstand adversity and therefore won't readily admit they need help. When a man is in distress, he is in distress no matter where he happens to live. And I can assure you that the conditions of the rural poor are no better than their counterparts in the cities.

The time to help rural Americans is now. We have enough documentation of facts. We know the causes of poverty. We have spoken enough of their plight. We have the means. Let us act.

If we succeed in eliminating poverty in America, we not only fulfill our needs, we are only beginning to fulfill the hopes of all mankind, because the world is watching our success, and the poor of foreign lands are awaiting us to share with them our American know-how.

Let the War on Poverty continue, and let us not fail.

Thank you.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much. I think you will be interested that some of your major statements substantiate other testimony which we have heard, and they are mutually supporting one another.

I would like to ask a personal question, Mr. Lee. You are of Chinese ancestry, are you?

Mr. **Lee**: Yes, sir, from San Francisco.

The **Chairman**: My own experience was in China. That is why I was interested in discovering whether you were from this country or elsewhere.

Mr. **Lee**: I have never been in China, sir.

The **Chairman**: Are there questions of Mr. Lee?

Mr. Gallegos.

Mr. **Gallegos**: It is not really a question, I am asking this because I am from San Francisco. When do you plan to return to San Francisco, because the War on Poverty needs you there, too.

Mr. **Laurel**: May I have a question, please?

The **Chairman**: Mr. Laurel.

Mr. **Laurel**: Mr. Lee, I think it is most fascinating the way you developed your discussion here of the problems that we really wanted to hear about. I think that it is most interesting, and I know that everything you have said is not only being recorded, but I hope that you made a copy of the remarks you prepared for the Commission. Have you done that?

Mr. **Lee**: Yes, I have.

Mr. **Laurel**: Can you give us personal background from the standpoint of educational background? This is a personal question, but I am interested.

Mr. **Lee**: Well, I will only answer any question related to rural poverty. I work in southern Iowa in a two-county area. It is an old coal mining town, mostly consisting of old people who worked in the coal mines. Now the coal mines are all closed down. What I do is, I am a kind of agent or a contact with these people. I work with them; I eat with them, and I live where they live. This is the reason why I happen to know quite a solid background of their lives.

Mr. **Laurel**: The other question would be this. I believe that OEO in some of the structuring of committees there among the poor —I know that you are a VISTA and we have some VISTAS back home which have done a tremendous job in living and working with the poor. I was very much impressed with your statement about teaching them how to fish rather than to feed them fish. I think that really gets down to the crux of the problem. But in so doing, and we are wanting more involvement of the poor to solve their own problems and for them to share in the responsibility that it takes to solve them, I think we are still laboring under the regulation of OEO to where the structuring of the committees is such—where the poor are actually given only one-third representation, or is that your understanding of it?

Mr. **Lee**: That's right.

Mr. **Laurel**: Is there any deviation from that, or do you feel the practical application of it is such that maybe they should be given a greater share, or what is your opinion on that?

Mr. **Lee**: There is one method, having one-third participation is one approach to it. I cannot say it is a bad approach or a good approach. It might work in certain areas, and it might not. From my experience I have suggested earlier to send out poverty technicians, people who are interested in helping their own people to get out of poverty, go down to the poor and live with them and work with them and help them organize independently without having to involve the middle class. This is another approach. In other words, it can be 100 percent funding. But instead of having a middle-class CAP director who may be concerned, I don't say he is not, but then you still see that this poor man has to face somebody that he cannot communicate with. You are not fulfilling your objective.

Mr. **Ford**: May I follow up on that, because it seems to me you are saying one thing one time. I understood your suggestion for having poverty technicians to develop exclusive and separate programs, but I find it somewhat difficult to reconcile this with some of your other statements when you seem to be deploring the fact that there is no dialog between the middle class and the poverty group and you berate the middle class for not being aware and being uninterested in the programs of the poor. Now, it seems to me if you are going to further segregate them, you further restrict the opportunities for dialog.

Could you clarify this for me, please?

Mr. **Lee**: Yes. Well, we have already segregated the poor; whether we know it or not is a different thing, is a psychological thing. When I recommend that we send in technicians, poverty technicians, to be in and live with these people and help them organize independently—in other words, you are giving them a chance to develop to a level where they can merge into the middle-class society. By the fact that they receive training or reeducation, you are giving them time to develop themselves so that they can merge into the middle-class society; but to ask them to come in and sit down with the middle-class community, it is very difficult for them to express themselves, in the first place.

Do I answer your question, sir?

Mr. **Ford**: Yes, I understand what you are saying. I am somewhat skeptical.

Mr. **Lee**: It takes time.

Mr. **Ford**: This gap is going to be bridged; the longer you keep them segregated, is this going to make it easier for them to get together at some later time?

Mr. **Lee**: They will get together when they know how. You don't have to teach them. If you bring them up to a level, they know how to buy a new car and they have a new house, and so forth; you have to give them time.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: I don't know whether I am asking this question right or not, but I hope we can communicate.

Was there a time in this community to which you refer that the mines were operating and the economy of the community was better and when the people who are now classified in the poverty groups were not considered as being in the poverty classification? I mean is the community worse off now than it was, say, 25 years ago?

Mr. **Lee**: That's right. I was there about 35 years ago in this community. There were 25,000 people in the town of Albia. Now there is only 4,500 people, and most of these people are poor, old people.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: But they weren't poor, young people, say, 25 years ago?

Mr. **Lee**: You have poor, young people if they happen to be the children of these old people.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Yesterday I heard a farmer say that the plight of the farmer is worse, say, in one of our southern States than it was 25 years ago. I am wondering if certain transitional developments, technology, the closing of certain types of industries, a change in our farming economy has brought on a new segment of our population that are just falling into the category of poverty. I think we have a big issue here or implications for a big issue. Maybe our country wasn't as bad off 25, 30, 40 years ago, but in the predepression days, I don't know, but I keep hearing this. I think we have something developing here that is going to require some study. In other words, that town didn't have so much of the problem of poverty 25 or 30 years ago when the mines were operating.

Mr. **Lee**: That's right.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: We had a rural population and now we have an urban population, so now it seems to me we have something developing in our country and it might be we have a problem evolving that we have never faced before. That's why I ask if the town were different 25 years ago.

The **Chairman**: Thank you very much, Mr. Lee. We appreciate your help.

Our next helper is Rev. William Chapman, Delta pilot project, Episcopal Diocese of Missouri, Kennett, Mo.

Reverend Chapman, we welcome you.

Mr. **Chapman**: I have taken the liberty, sir—I am not an expert and I have some experts that are with me in my work, and assuming that you might want to ask some questions, could they sit here so that they can answer?

The **Chairman**: We are very proud to welcome all the experts.

Would you introduce them, please, Reverend Chapman?

Mr. **Chapman**: This (indicating) is Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Bandy, Mrs. Lofton, and Mr. Hall. They are all from southeast Missouri and they are members of the migrant board, the Missouri Associated Migrant Opportunity Services. They possibly would have some really helpful answers to questions you may wish to ask afterwards.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM D. CHAPMAN

Mr. **Chapman**: So that I can get the prepared part over with quickly I would like simply to read it.

I preface my statement with an apology for not being the expert I fear is expected of one here. I'm just a parson engaged in an experimental ministry. It attempts to promote and support responsible leadership among people who are rural, poor, and powerless. My assumption is that in America, powerlessness is basically a state of mind and spirit. A man has to begin with himself, I feel, and my ministry is to help people deal with themselves and each other in the context of self-energizing, self-structuring task groups such as cooperatives, credit unions, producer associations, civil rights groups, and local community action agencies set up in connection with the War on Poverty. In the course of 2 years' work I have formed a few strong notions about rural poverty and what we need to overcome it. I am glad for the chance to be heard by you gentlemen.

I want to focus on the particular problem of the agricultural worker in the Bootheel of Missouri. That's the little part that really belongs to Arkansas that comes down south.

The CHAIRMAN: We will ask our Commission if they want to take it over.

Mr. CHAPMAN: Included here in my thoughts are some 6,000 home-based migratory workers and their families who, in order to keep alive, have to leave home for extended periods of time to work in Florida, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin to do the only thing they know how to do, fieldwork. I also include the more numerous men, women, and children who simply move from field to field, chopping and picking cotton. Finally, the even more numerous people who have done such labor in the past but who do so no longer because of technological change and who are not trained in other skills nor are they sufficiently educated to receive training in other skills.

Let me give you some random data. According to the overall economic development plan for Dunklin County, published September 1966, there are some 20,600 men and women 25 years of age or older. Now, 18,700 of these have no college education, 13,000 have less than a ninth grade education, 4,500, nearly 25 percent, never got beyond the fourth grade. There are 10,000 families in Dunklin County; 5,500 of these have less than $3,000 per year family income; 3,900 earn less than $2,000; 1,500 families have a family income of less than $1,000. For farm labor, most of what money is earned in a year is earned in less than 15 weeks. What nonagricultural employment is available in the area is beyond the skill, competence of most. Also the seasonal farmworker tends to have work attitudes which are not suited to many nonfarm jobs. The laws governing aid to dependent children in Missouri drive the father out of the home and make liars out of people who'd sooner be honest.

Some other relevant but less quantitative factors are that our poor people lack self-confidence, hope, initiative, and trust. Particularly in a rural area, isolation becomes another problem. To the extent that they have no sense of their own worth and power, they have no sense of responsibility or loyalty. Not only do poor people distrust the establishment, they also distrust their fellow poor.

Technological change has broken the rural community, and the very means we've used to help those who are locked in poverty have further undermined the community and the individual's capacity to respond. The inevitable migration to the cities has taken a heavy toll of health and leadership from us. The remnant are further weakened by handout-type measures such as the dole and commodity foods. Manpower programs are to date a mere token of what is needed. Poverty funds have been spun out of the Office of Economic Opportunity before local community action agencies had a real shakedown cruise. They have been spun back into the traditional agencies before those agencies have undergone the hoped-for changes. What local politics and human frailty didn't cripple has been thoroughly maimed by the "gun versus butter" Congressional cutbacks and by the step-by-step removal of authority from local community action agencies to area and regional offices. The faint hope in many that at least some meaningful decisions could be made at the local level has been completely squelched by upper echelon wheeling and dealing.

I would like to suggest four immediate needs.

One, massive amounts of adult basic education, citizenship and skill training: (A) To enable people to compete effectively for what jobs there are locally; (B) to extend the scope of gainful employability of the agricultural worker during the nonfarming season without forcing him to leave home; (C) to build a flexible labor force as an incentive for needed industrial growth, whether agri-industry or simply other forms of farming, such as vegetable growing and processing.

Two, the development of self-structuring, self-energizing social organizations, such as cooperatives, credit unions, and instruments for collective bargaining by farm employees and farm operators alike. A wage of 60 to 80 cents an hour leaves you hungry no matter how many hours a year you work. However, if the small cotton-grower pays his hands a living wage, he goes out of business. Perhaps the grower and the gatherer together have a word to say to the consumer, or must all three speak a word to the middleman? There is also the accompanying need for legislation extending the services of the National Labor Relations Board to agriculture.

The third need, I suggest there needs to be a spin-off from the Federal Government to State and local government of much tax money and the responsibility for conduct and administration of manpower and public works programs. If State and local government is to have a resurgence of relevance and intergrity, it must have responsibility.

For example, we have 200 migrants in the Bootheel who are, at this moment, waiting for education and training, along with a stipend that was to have enabled them and their families to stay home this winter and to get at least one leg up out of the migrant stream instead of going to Florida for the citrus harvest. Since mid-November when the program was supposed to have started, they have been tossed back and forth between State and Federal agencies. It's no one's fault, really. It is just that there are too many remote centers of decision whose wires get crossed. That puts it in the very best light. Now the growers are getting hot because they think we're going to take their labor.

I believe that a responsibly run State program, with all the needed Federal guidelines, would have a chance to do a better job, especially with a reapportioned State legislature.

The final need I want to put before you concerns the traditional agencies designed to help people, which are welfare, employment security, manpower, et cetera. We need to have authentic representation of the beneficiaries of their programs at the policy-making level of these agencies, State and county offices.

It seems to me that in our society the need for public assistance is to become more prevalent as time goes on simply because of the fantastic rate of technological change. The President's Committee on Technology and Automation made this quite clear in its report last year, and unanimously so. Whether an income maintenance program is along the lines of the present welfare system or that of negative income tax is beyond my competence to judge. I feel, however, quite competent to insist that the beneficiaries of such a program, among whom many of us sitting here may one day be counted, must have a real voice in the process by which policy is set, decisions made, and operation evaluated. Otherwise, whatever the program, it will be another handout and will continue to destroy the beneficiary.

I'd be glad to try to answer any questions that you have. I appreciate having been given this opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN: We are very glad to have you here.

Are your associates here, are they going to volunteer some statements or answer questions, or do you want them to say something?

Mr. CHAPMAN: No. Mrs. Bandy will answer some questions if we can.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any questions?

Mr. King.

Mr. KING: You said you had planned that they go to adult school and there had been some backing up. Is it going to be a reality or has the winter been lost? I am curious, and I think it is disastrous and serious if that is happening.

Mr. CHAPMAN: This has happened. We were counting on a deadline of January 15, after we realized November 15 was out of the question, and the November 15 thing was just all this massive uncertainty in all these agencies while Congress was making up its mind what it was going to do about Vietnam, I guess.

The Governor is not going to give his consent to the program until he has a public hearing in the Bootheel, which he has scheduled for Monday, and at this public hearing he wants not only migrants present, but he wants growers present, because as you can understand, with the coming of spring the grower is anxious, he thinks that we are going to take his labor away, all 200.

The CHAIRMAN: What kind of program were you contemplating in this training?

Mr. CHAPMAN: This was a program of basic education and pre-employment training, or we'd better call it supervised occupational experience, because otherwise MDTA will think we are trying to do what they are supposed to do. It is under Title III–B of the Economic Opportunity Act, and it carried with it a stipend for a 5-month period. It is a year-around program, but it is the 5-month period which is the guts, because this gives the migrant and the seasonal farmworker a chance to get basic education and some employment experience, and a stipend so that he does not have to cut out with his family.

Mr. Hall, you were saying how many had left recently?

Mr. HALL: Since we started on it, since the time of November 15, I know as much as 60 or 75 which was, you know, on the program, have already done gone, and more will be leaving this coming Wednesday for Florida.

Mr. Neil Davis: What have these migrant workers been living on during this waiting period?

Mr. Hall: Just doing the best we could.

Mrs. Lofton: Going from harvest to harvest.

Mr. Hall: Doing the best we could. I have been going to the harvest myself. I got a lot of experience of it. I joined this group, and so I was, you know, trying to hold out and see it through.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: I am interested in knowing, have you always been migrants? How long have you been doing migrant labor, following these harvests, and so on; or did you at one time have a stabilized home situation and were you farming? What were you doing?

Mr. Hall: Farming on the farm.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: How long have you been a migrant worker, so to speak?

Mr. Hall: I have been a migrant worker for the last 6 years.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Because you could not find work in your home community?

Mr. Hall: That's right.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: You were living where you are living now before you became a migrant worker?

Mr. Hall: That's right.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Were you put off the farm?

Mr. Hall: Absolutely.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: In other words, you sharecropped, or something like that?

Mr. Hall: That's right.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: Now you no longer have sharecropping?

Mr. Hall: That's right; they pushed us off of that.

Mr. Lawrence Davis: There is no work in the little town?

Mr. Hall: No, not where we live. It is a small population town.

Mr. Neil Davis: I was interested in Father Chapman's recommendation that money for community action programs be turned over to the States; that there has been a slough-off of Federal funds and the States run these programs. This is rather novel. At all the hearings and witnesses we heard in Arizona and those we have heard here today it seems the major difficulties, where there were difficulties, came by virtue of State action and not Federal; unfriendly State administrations looking at these programs with a jaundiced eye, anyway. And it interests me that you seem to think that this might be partially, at least, a panacea if you could just get this in the hands of the State.

Mr. Chapman: I don't think it is a panacea. Part of the real reluctance, I think, of the Governor's office—now I'm pretty much a Hearnes man in Missouri, and I think I feel pretty affirmative towards the posture he wants the State of Missouri to take towards really dealing with its own problems, and I think he really means this. He is not just kidding. His reaction to the Title III–B program which, of course, does not have a governor's veto, the governor can't veto it, was—and I am not speaking for Governor Hearnes, I am talking of his office of technical assistance—was why aren't we in on this, you see, we want to do this, and I don't think it is simply to control it. I believe in most people; I think they really want to try and do a job. I think that you are going to have lots of wrinkles to work out, and maybe the State and the country structure is not set up to do this kind of operation, but I think that most of our help has got to come from government in which we really feel a part. Vic Downing, my representative down where I am, he really has something to say about this program. Right now he doesn't. He is my State representative. I appreciate the difficulties that have occurred at the State level, but I think in the long run, as far as our society is concerned, the State government either just better be done away with or it better be given some real responsibility.

The **Chairman**: Mr. Gay.

Mr. **Gay**: Father, calling an ace an ace and a spade a spade, what worries me, and I don't know how you get around it, either; when you give this money to Lurleen and to Lester Maddox—and we have a lot of these and I am just using a couple, we can go to California and we can go to a few other States—Lurleen isn't going to let you get that money, man.

Mr. **Chapman**: That's a problem. (Laughter.) Frankly, our national church—in the Episcopal Church, we have considerable national funds that we are using to promote new work in the church. The experimental ministry that I am engaged in is one of them. We have pilot dioceses, there are 11 pilot dioceses who really are ready to take on an experiment, you know, and who have the ability to do it. There are other dioceses with bishops, God bless them, that it would be just a sin to give them the money because they don't know what to do with it.

Mr. **Gay**: This is a problem because I was reading in the paper today at noon where they are talking about electing another Governor's wife down here in another State, Governor Coleman's State, and we are electing more actors and guitar pickers than you can shake a stick at.

Mr. **Walker**: They'll all get in the movies, then, the guitar pickers.

Mr. **Laurel**: Father, first of all, as to the migrant problem, is that inter- or intra-state? Do migrants in Missouri go into interstate movement?

Mr. **Chapman**: Yes, we do. We used to be one of the biggest consumers of migrant labor there, but now we are a large exporter, to the extent of 6,000 families a year. They go to Florida, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio.

The insecurity of the migrant is also present, though, in our local workers, because, you know, you migrate from field to field or you get hauled from Hayti to Dexter and you spend the day up there and then you come back at night. You just have to try to flock from one field to another.

Mr. **Laurel**: Do you have a minimum wage in Missouri?

Mrs. **Bandy**: No.

Mr. **Laurel**: Is this the first opportunity that you have really had in trying to break the migrant cycle, for example, by giving basic education to some workers or to retrain them into some kind of a job that they can be utilized at home or in their own area, rather than to go into the interstate migrant stream? Is this a pilot project in that regard, also, from trying to teach them some not only basic education, but also some kind of retraining?

Mr. **Chapman**: No, this is my first experience with Title III–B and that kind of program, but it is done elsewhere too, in the settling out process. You try to give a person the basic education, the skills that he can make out in some other kind of work. A lot of us don't want to go to the city, you know; and the employment security office, they say, "Sure, I've got you a job at $2.40 an hour up at Olin-Mathieson in East Alton, Ill." Up you go, but a lot of people don't want to go. My wife wants to go, but I don't want to go. A lot of the people here don't want to go, and we feel that we could test the assumption that if they are upgraded in their general skills and have some experience in nonagricultural work relationships that they are going to be able to do two things. They are going to have a lot better chance of getting some complementary or supplementary work without leaving the area. At the same time, sort of like the chicken and the egg, you are going to be able to build up a labor force which is going to be an inducement to industry which we need very badly. It is our desire to have industry come in and supply more jobs.

Mr. LAUREL: Have you tried any Nelson amendment projects?

Mr. CHAPMAN: Oh, they had one applied for in the Delta area, Economic Opportunity Corporation, but like so many, we never knew what happened to it.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Stanley.

Mr. STANLEY: Reverend Chapman, I am always pleasantly surprised when a person like yourself advocates the expansion of the National Labor Relations Act to farmworkers. I am not surprised when my friend and colleague, Hank Brown, does. We have heard this now rather consistently in testimony in Tucson and on a few occasions here, dealing with the rural problem. I wonder if I could ask you to elaborate on that a little to the extent that you think this might be helpful in helping to solve the problems of rural poverty.

Mr. CHAPMAN: Well, what poor people need more than anything is some money, and when you are hired by the man at 60 cents an hour and you desperately need 60 cents an hour, you are going to go for it. If through the National Labor Relations office the poor person can be strengthened in his desire to provide, to get collective bargaining power, then I think this is what I am for, and I think this is what is needed.

Let me say this, that I think that the small cotton farmer, to my knowledge, is in a very bad position himself, because he can't afford to pay, he really can't.

Dan, do you agree with that?

Mr. HALL: I do, sir.

Mr. CHAPMAN: I mean, it is not just that he is stingy; he has his own problems. I think producers associations—we have a real good watermelon producers association that enables the farmers who do it to grow or to get a good return on their investment that enables them to pay people a more reasonable wage than they would get in the cottonfields.

Mr. STANLEY: Would you think in addition to the economic benefits that would obviously accrue to these people that it would also provide an incentive for self-expression?

Mr. CHAPMAN: Oh, very definitely.

Mr. STANLEY: It would focus attention on the problems in a much sharper way than what we have been able to do up until this time? I mean in the last months, as a matter of fact, national attention has been more sharply focused on this; as a result of this, you know—the organization of some farmworkers in California and efforts in other parts of the country—that if the act were extended, beyond any question it would bring about a substantial amount of organization which, in turn, would tend to lift the whole farming industry.

Mr. **Chapman**: I have definite feelings in that direction, yes, sir.

The **Chairman**: Are there any other questions? (No response.) Thank you, Reverend Chapman.

Mr. Underwood is our next witness. Mr. Underwood is staff director, East Carroll Community Action Association, Lake Providence, La.

Mr. **Underwood**: I have taken the liberty of bringing with me an associate of mine, Mr. Van Dixon, because Mr. Dixon has lived in the area all of his life, and I am sort of a newcomer. I think he can answer some of the questions that I can't.

The **Chairman**: We welcome you both.

Mr. **Underwood**: I also understand I am the tail that's wagging the dog. A lot of you gentlemen have flights to catch out this afternoon, and it is most unfortunate because I hope that I have something to say that is of interest. If any of you feel like I am going to keep you past your airplane flight, don't say a word, just sneak out.

Mr. **King**: Most of them have.

Mr. **Underwood**: I got here a little bit early and listened to some of the things that other people have said. I think a lot of people have stolen my thunder, but I will read this little thing we have fairly much verbatim and see if you will want to ask us some questions.

STATEMENT OF R. R. UNDERWOOD

Mr. **Underwood**: As you noted, I am staff director of a community action association in a parish of Louisiana, and we are real proud of this section in northeast Louisiana because we feel it is in the center of the Delta farmland, some of the most fertile in the world. We are real proud of this section because we feel it is a center of some of the most fertile farmlands. We are quite proud of our farms and farmers. Over the years they have been most progressive, and as a result, we have a large number of quite prosperous and large farms.

Their success was accomplished by progressive and modern farm methods which have also been a primary cause of our poverty problems. In the past, our area consisted of many small family-operated farms, and the large farms required large numbers of workers living on the farm. The women and children were able to help out in the seasonal peaks where harvesting required large amounts of labor. As a consequence, most of our farm families were large in size.

However, with the advent of farm tractors and their ability to cultivate substantially larger acreages than the mule and plow, the need for large numbers of farmworkers began to decline. As the larger and more expensive farm machinery was developed, the need for workers declined further, and the cost for the machinery made the small farm less and less economical. As a consequence, the more successful farmers acquired larger amounts of land to enable them to more economically utilize their machinery. This process was hastened by the rigorous crop production controls program. As an example, they reduced cotton allotments to the area where one small farmer would sell the allotment to larger farmers, and the larger farmer would put forth acreage of cotton to justify the capital investment of equipment.

The advent of chemical processes for cultivation and for weed control has further hastened the reduction in the need for farmworkers on the farm.

The result of this progress is that in the period from 1940 to date, our parish population has declined from 19,023 to 13,033, an April 1966 estimate. This is a loss of 32 percent of our population in the face of an exploding growth in our national population. As is apparent from our population decline, some 6,000 people have left the parish. In addition, however, some 8,000 have moved to town. Those were people engaged in Louisiana. Most of these were people who, in the case of Louisiana—we have an old age pension law—that became old, moved to town, got the old age pension, became recipients of the old age pension and were, therefore, able to eke out a fairly adequate existence. This is certainly not what we would qualify as poverty. I mean, they are not affluent by any manner of means, but at least they are cared for.

Now, as a consequence, these people, because of their age and training, ceased to work and became recipients of either old age assistance programs or some other form of public welfare programs, with the result that our area has one of the highest per capita ratios of persons receiving public assistance of any parish in our State. We are rocking along fairly happily on this; we weren't doing very well, but this recently enacted legislation establishing minimum wages for farmworkers, while it will certainly result in higher incomes for those workers who are going to remain working, it is certainly an advantageous thing and a much needed thing. It has been accomplished and it was put in effect yesterday with, so far as I can see, absolutely no thought being given to the dispossessed workers as a result of this.

Now, since both the young and the old worked on the farms at some time of the year, usually during hoeing time, they were able to pick up the $3 a day wage, which an old person could make, or a family of seven or eight or nine kids could get up to $30 or $40 a day and in a 17-week period they could pick up the $1,700, $1,800 a season which represented a tremendous additional income to the family. I talked to many farmers, and while chemical weed control has not been the thing they used to use, they are going into it full spray and to the full extent this year. They will hire some hoers or hoe hands which they will pay at $10 a day, but these are certainly going to be only the more qualified people who can turn out the best amount of production.

Now, what is going to happen to these other families or the people who are made surplus as a result of this? Let's take the farmworker that used to work on a farm as a tractor driver, say. Most farmers now, in order to either avoid coming under the 500 man-day per quarter regulations or to keep from being under too great a strain, are planning very seriously and have already reduced their workload on the farm in half. The confusion attendant to the institution of this new law has led to the fact that many of them feel that if they have a family living on the farm it is a real question how much, if anything, they should charge them for their houses that they offer as fringe benefits, and if they don't offer these houses as fringe benefits, do these constitute some form of income during the off period of the year, and are they, therefore, going to be qualified for, I mean, be accused of having to establish a higher wage rate and go back and pay them for the working period thereto? I have had this happen in Wage and Hour.

The farmers are taking the easiest way out; move them all off, move them into town. We have a town of 6,000 population. All of a sudden we have a man in perfectly good health—we have provisions in our State to take care of the disabled, but we don't have any provisions to take care of the able people. He has a wife and some children and like most poor people he has no savings account, and there is going to be a long period of time where the farmers are not even going to be able to even advance in pay, because there is a real question whether this is a loan or an advancement in pay, or something else. These people are going to be starving.

Now, the average worker that works in industry or any other form who is laid off during periods of time is entitled to draw unemployment compensation. I am sure you all know quite well this costs the employer a maximum of 3 percent of payroll. I submit that as soon as possible, and it might not be legislatively possible to do this, that a similar program to extend these unemployment benefits be made available to our farmworkers. Of course, this won't help those that haven't had a past history on it; but we have a seven-point program of which this is one, and I'd like to read it over to you and then ask for some questions on it, because I am sure it isn't well written.

First, we feel that the benefits of unemployment compensation should be extended to include agricultural workers in order that they may be entitled to draw unemployment compensation during their periods of unemployment extending throughout the winter months. This is inevitable, that every farmer lays off during the wintertime; nobody can work.

Second, that during these regular periods of unemployment and as a condition of their receiving the compensation, that programs be established to determine their intellectual capabilities, to improve their literacy rate, and to train them in agricultural and other vocations. This is certainly an excellent time to make a tractor driver or a cottonpicker driver more aware of the equipment he is handling. It would certainly indicate to me that the more trained workers can command the higher pay.

Three, that the surplus workers be accorded the same compensation initially and given the advantages of the same training with the addition of vocational training to enable them to fill jobs that might be more readily available in urban areas.

Four, and I think this is a very important one, that the small uneconomical farmers be given concentrated training and technical assistance to enable them to raise crops that do not require extensive or expensive mechanization and that have higher yields; specifically, produce crops which are admirably fitted to small farmers who have large families.

Five, that a concentrated effort at both the local level and at the governmental level be made to encourage industrial development of rural areas to level off the effects of seasonal farmwork and crop failures. Industrial development could be accomplished by granting defense contractors special consideration if they agree to perform their work in areas that would employ rural people, thereby enabling them to gain the work experience necessary to obtain jobs elsewhere and to advance themselves.

Six, that a regular exchange of information between the employment services of the nation be made in order to locate critical labor shortages and an attempt be made to train rural workers to fill these jobs wherever they might be located.

Seven, we have our own little operation which, basically, in view of the fact that our present labor supply is not trained as industrial labor—

We propose that a program be established in our area as a private program and be known as "Operation Dead Aim." Everybody has to have an operation name, so we picked this one out.

We feel that this is an excitingly original development in the annals of race development and the proposed abolition of poverty from a given area. This is a pilot operation to ascertain whether the Negro can be practically trained to do a specific job for a selected industry.

We have resolved that "Operation Dead Aim" would be sighted-in on a textile factory, and that it would focus its training program to prepare the trainees to function efficiently within the operations of a small textile plant.

It is important to note that this program, designed to serve as a pilot operation, is unique in its selection and purpose. While intended for the most part for the Negro race of the area, it is in no sense limited thereto, and is open to all qualified applicants. We hope that under the supervision of some Government program, we haven't found one yet, an assembly line of some 30 industrial sewing machines would be established, simulating the entire layout of a small garment plant, and that instructors be practical technicians or artisans of the textile industry and trade, and that instruction would comprise the specific duties of operations in like industries and the course of instruction would be so conditioned in curriculum that a competent operator would be graduated, ready for the production line.

It is our opinion that such an operation should be financed under the selected program providing for educating and training adult persons who lack a wage-earning skill. The necessary machinery could be rented, possibly on a rent-purchase arrangement. This operation is deemed unique in that specific exploration is being made in a new field, that is, the agrarian South with a large Negro population. If "Operation Dead Aim" succeeds, as we confidently feel it will, and is followed by the establishment of a successful textile manufacturing plant, then a new approach has been established and the ever-present problem, poverty, will have been challenged and some measure of success achieved.

We selected a garment-manufacturing firm for the following reasons:

There are three such plants in operation, or coming into operation, in a 30-mile radius that could utilize some of our trained people, as they will ultimately employ in excess of 400 people. These are not within our parish or county and therefore we do not qualify to send them to that MDTA program that has been set up to train these people and they don't have room for our people in their county. That's what it boils down to.

A garment factory costs less per employee to furnish and equip than any other type of industry, and we feel that a 200- to 300-employee plant would be economically feasible in our area because of the large number of female workers.

We also feel that the long-term utilization of labor in garment factories is considerably less subject to automation than any other industry. They haven't quite figured out a way to do that with a machine yet.

Since the bulk of the employees would be female, their income from such sources would supplement their family income, and also any temporary shutdowns of the factory, or crop failure on the other side, would probably be taken up by income from their duplicate sources.

We submit, also, that in our particular population there is a greater surplus of female labor than male labor.

We feel that this program, which is much more involved than I am getting into, would be an excellent beginning answer. Our problem has been we can't find—we are in a chicken and an egg situation. The depth of labor—MDTA is ideal if you have a factory ready to come to town. They will come in and put in all the money in the world. We have also had interviews with industrial prospects who said this is fine, but it is real hard to train your people to work, we'll go someplace else where they have more experience. They are working on farms now, they are slow, they are hard to get brought up to standard. We have also heard it said from some of them that Negro labor is more apt to unionize than white labor in factories. As it happens our parish is 65 percent Negro, and I would say that most of your surplus labor force is Negro. We tried to get together with OED one time and we had to have a union man on the board. We looked all over town and finally found one man in the parish who belonged to the railroad union, and that's the only one we could find. He belonged to the railroad union.

Basically, gentlemen, we've got two or three problems and I think everybody has a dozen, and maybe ours aren't the answer. I feel, first, we are an agricultural area. Most of the county agent type of work that is done in our area, most of their time is given to treating the existing farmers' problems, the larger farm. Yet most of our surplus help have become surplus because they are either not going to be utilized on the farm or their family isn't, or they have a small farm that's no longer efficient. Surprisingly enough, in our area all the produce that we eat in our area comes from either the Texas valley or from Florida, just like everybody else's. We think we have some of the most fertile land in the world, but we do need some funds. Apparently farmers are real hard-headed, to kick them into the idea that it is a whole lot better to take a family with eight kids and put them out in a tomato patch one summer and make a couple thousand dollars than it is to send them down the road and try to hire them out as hoe hands. This is fine; they were going down to get cash money, to take the gamble; but this year they aren't going to be hired out.

We have an excellent opportunity and we are certainly working on it: That the large farmer who has several families on his places—and let me assure you a good competent tractor driver is not only paid well above this minimum wage, but he is offered many fringe benefits to keep him—is more than willing to make available to each farm family if they want to supplement their hoeing income, tracts of land that could be utilized for this sort of thing. But we do need funds, and I guess we need them from the Federal Government. Everybody else goes there, and we need it to teach these people how to raise the crops. I would frankly think since there are very few people raising them in our area, we might go to the areas where produce is raised, get those people, a few of them, to teach us how.

Finally, I think extending unemployment benefits to farmworkers, first it is needed now, not yesterday; it should have been brought in as a condition or as a part of this increase of minimum wages, because I can see of no way whereby we can help these people learn, feed them long enough to learn to replace them or to reemploy them in other activities.

I hope there are some questions.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. You have extended our knowledge of these problems considerably. I am very glad to have you and Mr. Dixon here.

Are there any questions?

Mr. UNDERWOOD: Well, I didn't do very good. I didn't get anybody interested. Tail end of the doing, I know.

The CHAIRMAN: We have been over a number of these general situations, as you know.

Mr. UNDERWOOD: Why, certainly, I am aware of that and I am sure this has been repeated many times. I hope this repetition has impressed you.

Mr. LAWRENCE DAVIS: Is Mr. Dixon a tractor driver?

Mr. UNDERWOOD: No, sir.

Mr. KING: Tell us about Mr. Dixon.

The CHAIRMAN: Come on, Mr. Dixon, tell us about yourself.

Mr. DIXON: Well, I am interested in developing my community in general, whether it is Caucasian or whether it is Negro, or whether it is the Chinese or Japanese, but as Bob just said, we have about 5,000 people down there that's poverty stricken. We have a community of our own, in a sense, and we live in what you call a dog's leg. It is in the corner, you see, of Louisiana. Every large factory, every Government contract, we haven't been able to stop anything because it is a little bit off the beaten path, in a sense, sort of like a haven, you see, so we are there with a population in a parish of 13,000 people, 65 percent Negro. About 8,000 now are living in the proper of Lake Providence, and the remainder are living out on small plots in their community or else the farmer is letting them eke out an existence on small plots. With the new minimum wage law they are buying more machinery, fertilizer. And we had a meeting about 3 or 4 weeks ago with the Labor Department, and the farmers just can't pay a kid that's 4 or 5, or, say, 8 or 9 years old a dollar an hour to chop cotton. So the high school students this year will be in the streets if we don't come up with something soon.

The wife and maybe the kids that the farmer paid to transport them to the fields were paid $3 a day regardless, regardless of size; if they could carry a hoe they were paid. Now the farmer can't pay these people. And whereas a family of maybe six or seven were supplementing the husband's income, and within a run of a week the entire community would have an income of, say, $7,000 or $8,000, well, $5,000 of this will be cut back, which will leave during the peak season about $2,500 that normally goes to the man that can operate the machinery. Whereas this man has received his salary all during the rainy seasons of, say, 40 hours a week, rainy season coming around November and December, this man is going to be cut off, and as of February 1 his salary is stopped, they drop the hatchet.

Mr. **Lawrence Davis**: Whose ideas are these that you are expressing—"Operation Dead Aim" and all that? I can tell you why I ask this, because so many times in the last 2 days we have said that the matter of projecting for the future was taken away from the people, and I just wondered did this idea come from those unemployed women?

Mr. **Underwood**: No, actually it didn't. I will give you the background on that.

In our little area we have something known as Industrial Development Corporation which we set up there politely and nicely under the proper laws of the State that would enable us to issue bonds and rent property if we ever had a factory. We haven't got even one yet. One of the things we did—and also the local governmental bodies made available a sum of money for a group of us that were appointed to do our best to try to encourage industry to come into the area—and we took what we considered, after two or three failures, we took what we consider was a look at ourselves. We were an agricultural community. Quite frankly, the biggest surplus labor source are the women, and we felt if we could attract a garment factory in the area the only people who would really be hurting by their working for $50 or $60 a week, instead of $3 a day, would be the houeswives of the area who were hiring them, and this was a number of us who were certainly not in the poverty class. We felt that our wives could do their own housework just about as well, because in the meantime we were faced with the fact that the merchants in this town without the population of our parish being able to make a living, they are drying up and going away. The big farmers don't need the town in our parish. They usually go outside of the parish to buy their products. The little people spend their money in our town. We are very selfish about it.

Well, we put this whole thing together as a wild idea. We have talked about it with Russell Long who happens to be a friend of one of the men who wrote it; we have gone up and down the roadside, and all we come up with is that there is not sufficient legislation today to institute a manpower training program until you get a factory available. We felt we could raise through private capital sources adequate money to put up a factory. We have the land available; so does everybody else. This is nothing new. The agricultural worker is not accustomed to working under production line speeds, but in other areas there are many people who have worked under production line speeds. So when these people come through we finally conned a few of them into coming in and looking at us. Time after time we get the same story—I think we'll get a little speedier labor elsewhere, they have had experience. We submit, quite frankly, that any person who can pass a dexterity test, if given a chance, can produce at piece rate speeds and make out, as they call it in the garment factory, make more than the minimum wage. If they earn less, then they are laid off, anyway.

Also for selfish reasons, we feel that if the ladies are working the men will stay. They won't have to work as hard; they can go hunting more often.

Mr. Stanley: Mr. Underwood, Mr. Dixon, if I may, Mr. Chairman, there is something running through this that concerns me somewhat. I'd like just for clarification, first, to make a statement, but, Mr. Dixon, in your statement as to the minimum wage and the displacement of labor that was going to result therefrom, there might have been some indication that this was bad, that the fact that four or five members of the family had been working and earning a wage, that as an aggregate amounted to enough income to give the family a fairly adequate standard of living, that this was preferable over one person, the breadwinner in the family, working and earning a decent wage which he could maintain the entire family at the level they should be maintained at. I couldn't help but recall in my mind that you were speaking about what Sarah Claghorn had written around the turn of the century where she said the golf links lay so near the mill that every day the working children could look out and see the men at play. In our society it seems to me the children should be playing and going to school during these years, not out in the cottonfields chopping cotton, or like they used to be doing in my State, sorting out slate. And that the father in his rightful place is making the living and the mother in her rightful place is making the home, I mean if they have children in the home. Mr. Underwood, your statement then later is what really precipitated this: Let's put the women to work so the men will stay home?

Mr. Underwood: I was being facetious about that.

Mr. Stanley: The fact of the matter is that the passage of the minimum wage law is bad. In my home State the 1st of January we put into effect a dollar an hour State minimum wage law, which is very low, but it is a start. I checked into a motel recently where I have been staying for a number of years and they had a big sign up on the cashier's desk that said "Due to the enactment of the minimum wage law effective the 1st of January, the minimum rate for single rooms will now be $10." Well, I had been paying $9.50 for several years in staying there. In the first place, they were admitting they were paying their help less than a dollar, but implicit in all this is that the social purpose here that we are trying to serve is to create a society that's balanced, that everyone is having an opportunity to have a good life.

Mr. Underwood: Right, and I agree. Let me give you this answer, and I am not being facetious.

One, I don't think that there is any farmworker in the country that could raise a family of seven or eight kids on a dollar an hour. I am trying to raise a family of four kids and I make one heck of a lot more money than a dollar an hour and my savings account is nil. That might be lack of ability, but nevertheless, between the minimum wage as they presently are being paid and the needs to live and to eat, they've got to ask for other help from their families. Now I don't think there is a politician in the world until our last 10 years that hadn't admitted to the fact that as a condition to be elected that he was raised on a farm and worked in a field, and——

Mr. STANLEY (interrupting): It is changing.

Mr. UNDERWOOD: It is changing; we don't have as many farms and we have more tractors. But nevertheless, farmwork of the nature that Van Dixon and I are talking about, while it is not as well as playing golf or something, it certainly is better than doing nothing, and it certainly does help. These people are in extremely low cash income positions, and any time anything happens that further depletes their opportunities to acquire this cash, whether they do it with their wife or their children, or both, puts them in a tremendous problem.

Now, I did not suggest by any manner of means that we take the children and the women who are normally working, say, as hoe hands in the summertime and put them on unemployment benefits or train them for jobs. I was suggesting that the heads of the family be trained for jobs. Also in our area we have a great number of families where there is no male head; there is only a female head. Now, these people, if they have children, and most of them do, presently are receiving aid to dependent children, and this at the best is never going to be enough to raise these children. The women as the heads of these families, in a garment factory or some form of work, would make far more money that way than they are receiving now.

Mr. STANLEY: Would they really, in a garment factory in Louisiana? You've got a pretty good public welfare program in Louisiana.

Mr. UNDERWOOD: I have been involved with enough garment factories to know one thing. If the minimum wage is $1.40 an hour, you have an average wage in any garment factory of about $1.80. Now, this is $1.80 for a 40-hour week, which is what?—real fast like, $72 a week. They are working, and they are receiving, if they have six kids and no husband to support them, $140 a month. I kind of submit they would make more money working, nor would they be losing all of this income.

Mr. STANLEY: You mean six children in Louisiana, they only get $140?

Mr. UNDERWOOD: I am guessing at that, but it is close.

Mr. STANLEY: Mr. Underwood, your response is as I thought it would be, but I just want it clarified in the record.

Mr. UNDERWOOD: I wasn't saying we ought to work children.

Mr. DIXON: Permit me to add this, too, Mr. Stanley. I would like to clarify myself, too. It is not that the people in East Carroll Parish want to put everybody to work and put the whip to them. It wasn't made in that sense. What I would like to state is that the farmers last year let the people work as an accommodation, because actually as far as chopping cotton is concerned, the farmers have weed killer and numerous ways whereby they can—where they don't need to hand hoe, actually. And they have done this more or less as an accommodation, for they can put a cottonpicker out there and pick a bale of cotton for $20 or $25 a bale. The people that have been living on the farm, they let them pick a certain amount of cotton and they eventually wind up paying maybe $50 or $55 to have one bale of cotton picked, so it is a situation like that.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you. We thank you very much.

We thank our other witnesses very much, indeed.

(Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m. the hearing was closed.)

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY BLUE A. CARSTENSON

I am Dr. Blue Carstenson, the assistant to the president of Green Thumb, a national program of National Farmers Union operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity under the Nelson amendment. I am also the director of the senior member council programs of the National Farmers Union and assistant legislative director.

I am testifying on behalf of Green Thumb and National Farmers Union.

Farmers Union is an organization of farm families which has fought poverty since its start some 66 years ago in Texas, when it was organized by a group of very impoverished Texas farmers. Farmers Union has been fighting poverty in rural America ever since that time, and they have been the only farm organization which has formally and directly actively engaged in the War on Poverty. It was our former President, Jim Patton, who originally coined the phrase "War on Poverty," led a delegation to meet with President Johnson, and initially sold him on the idea of declaring war on poverty.

Over the years Farmers Union has fought for legislation to reduce poverty on the broadest of fronts. *For example, Farmers* Union is the only organization to regularly testify in favor of the Farmers Home Administration, the Food Stamp Program, the Appalachia development program, ARA, EDA, TVA, MVA, MDTA, OEO, and many more of the "alphabets" of governmental programs.

Farmers Union operates many antipoverty programs. Our national Direct Drug Service, of which I am president, has been successful in cutting drug costs for rural Americans. The thousands upon thousands of co-ops which Farmers Union has organized have saved millions of rural Americans from poverty. Farmers Union has also undertaken public efforts such as project Green Thumb in five States and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in four States, OJT programs in two States, and CASA in Arkansas. I would like to report on project Green Thumb in a little more detail.

Thumbnail Sketch of Project Green Thumb

There are several million older low income people living in rural America, who, through no fault of their own, cannot continue to farm or find employment. Having poor job prospects and often living in rural pockets of poverty, these older farmers face years of deprivation and poverty for themselves and their wives. Project Green Thumb seeks to use the skills of older and retired low income farmers in growing things to beautify the highways.

The program, which has been in operation for one year, employed a maximum of 500 worker-trainees in five States and had wide-scale community, State, and congressional acceptance despite the challenge of employing a group of men given up by most programs as hopeless. The average age has been 67, and the average income before entering the project was $900 per couple per year. The oldest workers are 89 years of age.

Congressional committees, in seeing the potential of Green Thumb, have greatly expanded opportunities for this type of program and have urged its expansion to all States. This year's proposal calls for expansion to nine States and 1,400 worker-trainee positions with a greater emphasis on job placement and development and the idea of being of service to the community.

The men work 3 days a week and earn $1,500 a year. Heavy in-kind contributions come from State and community sources. The program operates under the Nelson amendment for conservation, beautification, and community betterment for persons with poor employment prospects because of age or other reasons, with special reference to the Economic Opportunity Act amendments relating to equitable distribution of programs between rural and urban areas and the inclusion of senior citizen programs in the War on Poverty and the funding of independent programs outside the CAA's.

Evaluations have shown the Green Thumb program is effective in aiding these men who are in deep poverty and prolonged unemployment to regain dignity and purpose in life and escape from the depths of poverty. It has stood alone as a pioneer to show the abilities and potentials of older and retired low income farmers as employable workers.

Yet the family farmers of America do not fare well in the War on Poverty. A recent limited check of our membership in one State showed that our median net annual income, as taken from income tax statements, was probably well below $3,000 per family. Farmers Union is committed to the survival of both the farm family and to rural America.

The basis for the economy in rural America is agriculture and the farm. No antipoverty plan can ignore the plight of agriculture and the family farm. Poverty in rural America is not a new problem nor is it getting appreciably better. The base of rural America and the family farm is eroding not only from technological change but from policies, prices, and practices which have forced literally millions of people from rural America. Too many of the programs of the Department of Agriculture are not being run for the smaller farmer, but for the benefit of the 1 million larger farms.

Farm debt has now reached $45 billion, an all-time high. Interest rates now are at a 40-year high. Credit and interest rates run about 2 percent higher in rural America than in the urban metropolitan centers. Farmers are asked to produce to fight the worldwide fight against hunger only to be told that they cannot get a reasonable price. Farm prices now are at only 77 percent of parity; 100 percent of parity is necessary to net them an income equal to the factory worker.

The Food Marketing Commission study shows that the farmer is not getting a fair deal in the marketplace. Dairy farmers, poultry farmers, and other farmers are cheated out of millions of dollars by unethical marketing practices.

The farmer pays out more for farm equipment than is reasonable. As our national president Tony Dechant said last week at the Tight Money Conference, "These price increases continue while farm implement companies haul in the biggest profits in history. International Harvester increased its profits from $74 million to almost $90 million during the first half of 1966. John Deere and Company increased its profits from $39 million to $62 million during the same period. Allis-Chalmers increased its profits from $16 million to $21 million during the first 9 months of 1966. And the other farm machinery makers reported comparable increases. Now you would think the greed of those riding the backs of farmers would be satisfied with these huge profits. The truth is that they want even more.

These farm implement companies, *acting in unison*, raised farm machinery prices another 2 to 5 percent on November 1. This means farmers have to shell out an additional $200 million for operating equipment this year—an added expense that comes right out of net farm income.

Farm Loans

In 1965, when interest rates were lower, Minnesota farmers reported they paid more on interest payments than they did for feed and seed or for fuel. Now they pay from 1 to 4 percent more. Farm operating loans (non-Federal) cost from 7 to 11 percent and even 12 percent. Last year farmers paid $2.5 billion in interest on farm operations. Farmers cannot operate at 9 and 10 percent interest rates for farm operating loans, and rural America cannot live on installment payments at 18 percent interest rates. Generally, rural America pays 2 percent more than the big city borrower.

The tight money situation is common throughout the farm States and, so far, there is no relief in sight.

Interest rates range from 7 to 10 percent in *Arkansas*, where crop losses the past year reduced quantities enough that a lot of farmers cannot get bank loans at any price. Many get help at the Farmers Home Administration; others are forced to quit.

In *Colorado*, interest rates range from 7 to 9 percent, with suppliers charging as much as 1 percent per month. It is reported that FHA, overwhelmed with operating loan applications, will run out of money in Colorado next month. The outcome is likely to be that as many as 1,500 farm operators —all victims of this deadly credit squeeze—will be forced out of farming.

Our reports also indicate that bank loans are limited almost entirely to old customers in *Kansas*, which means a credit shut-off for farmers just getting started. The same situation exists in *South Dakota*.

In *Montana*, the Farmers Home Administration will be out of money by March 15—still about $1.5 million short of what is needed. In *Minnesota*, the pileup of FHA loan applications indicates another $2 million would be needed to meet requirements.

It's a similar story in *North Dakota*, where those with poor crops due to hail damage are especially hard hit and are being forced out of business for lack of credit at reasonable rates.

Bankers and other moneylenders are besieging Government offices in *Oregon* in an attempt to get credit for family farmers. The shrinkage in farm credit there is estimated at 15 to 20 percent, causing a squeeze that will force several hundred farmers off the land.

Interest rates have gone up as much as 3 percent in *Texas*, and a 10-percent rate for a family farmer is not uncommon. Narrow profit customers are being cut off and referred to FHA which, as in other States, is running out of loan money. A tremendous increase in demand for FHA loans is reported in *Wisconsin* even though the allocation for that State is completely exhausted.

I don't need to spell out in detail to this group the main causes of the credit disaster that has hit agriculture, slowed housing across the country, and now is affecting such durable good industries as steel, aluminum, and automobiles.

Home Loans

Home building in rural America has come to an abrupt halt. The difference between a $10,000 home loan over 30 years at 7 percent and one at 8 percent is about $6.50 a month in payments (about $10 a month rent or $2,900 over the 30 years).

In *1952*, home loans were at 4½ percent, often without any additional points being added. In the fall of *1966*, home loans were averaging 5¾ percent plus an average of 2 points (or 7¾ percent the first year). In the fall of *1966*, the NAHB reported the average home loan interest rates of 6½ percent and an average of 7 to 8 points, or a total of about 13½ to 14½ percent (or about double interest the first year). No wonder new housing starts dropped to the lowest point in 20 years. The prospective homeowner, the home builder, developer, carpenter, bricklayer, electrician, real estate agent, and lumberman are but a few of those who are hurt by such high interest rates.

Rural America needs credit unions by the thousands. Rural America needs credit and credit protection. Antiusury laws are a farce in most of the States that do have them, and half do not. We need truth in lending and credit bills and antiusury laws. Farmers Home Administration strives mightily and provides 10 percent of farm operating credit. The other agencies strive too much; much of their credit goes to the larger farmer. A young farmer cannot get into farming today unless he inherits a farm or marries into a farm.

Nearly half of the substandard homes are in rural America, yet few homes are being built. Why? Not enough credit is the main reason. For every home built by Farmers Home Administration, 25 are built in the cities by HUD. We need $1 billion additional now—today—this year—for Farmers Home Administration to really ease the credit gap for rural America. Farmers and rural America need this additional $1 billion at 3 to 5 percent interest not 8 and 10 percent.

Is there any wonder that the number of farmers is declining rapidly, or that the farm belt was in political revolt this past year?

Show me an area where farmers are in trouble and 9 out of 10 times I will show you a depressed rural community. The policies of allowing family farms to go out of business because they lack decent credit, have poor purchasing or selling power, is costly to urban and rural areas alike. For every single family farm that is bankrupt, 15 people are hurt. Not only the farm family but the people in the community who trade with the farmer. The cost of aiding the existing family farms to stay in business at a decent level is the cheapest way to prevent rural and ghetto poverty. The cost of not aiding these farmers to remain is shattering both in dollars and in human values. Failure to spend a few million in rural areas to fight poverty may cost a billion when this poverty flows to the cities.

A few short years ago the average person of American descent lived on a farm. Today only about 8 percent remain; the rest are forced off. The cost of retraining and relocating a million farm families and the others that are forced to leave rural America is, even at a bargain rate of $3,000 per family, $3 billion. The Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, nor OEO are planning to spend even that much next year to help rural people. Less than 4 percent of MDTA funds reach rural America; yet the biggest unemployment areas are there. One-third of our elderly live in rural areas, yet less than 10 percent of the services for older people are in rural areas. Only 15.5 percent of OEO-CAP funds reach rural America, yet nearly half the poverty is there.

Over the past 40 years, nonfarm employment constituted from 20 to 40 percent of all farm family income. Part-time and full-time jobs are essential to the farm family, yet the U.S. Employment Service programs rarely reach the farm family.

Rural America has less than one federally assisted home built for every 26 built in urban areas with Federal funds, yet 43 percent of people living in substandard housing live in rural America. Less health services financed by Government reach rural America where health care is poorer and health much worse. The quality of education is less. I could go on, but I will add one more item—*there is less hope in rural America.*

What can be done? We advocate—

(1) Farm support and credit programs to aid the family farmer.

(2) Lower interest rates by changing Federal Reserve Board composition and policies, by truth in lending legislation by effective antiusury laws, by taxing excessive profits, by stopping the sales participation program and expanding the credit available through FHA.

(3) Expanding Federal aid to education to disadvantaged rural youth.

(4) Moving the employment service, MDTA, and OJT out into rural America.

(5) More aggressive effort to aid regional programs such as the Arkansas Tourist Development program and application.

(6) Enforcement of the law which says there shall be an equitable distribution of OEO programs between rural and urban areas and greater use of single purpose and regional type agencies in rural areas.

(7) A major increase in social security to at least a minimum of $100 per month proposed by the President will take perhaps half a million Americans out of poverty.

(8) The development of an adequate rural development program and the accompanying community facilities programs.

(9) The development of a new positive attitude toward rural living not based on sentiment but on good living in good housing in good communities with good community services.

(10) Expanded programs of public sector employment designed to employ persons needing work and unable to find it in the private sector. Public employment programs such as the Nelson amendment program and Neighborhood Youth Corps are acceptable and liked in rural areas. With this manpower and womanpower we can rebuild rural America into a decent place to live.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY AMZIE MOORE

Three million people have left the South since 1940, the majority of them Negroes. Many thousands are left there yet with no visible income, made idle by mechanization or due to be made idle by the newly acquired minimum wage law which they are kept from benefiting by. The dispossession of others has been speeded by the Food and Agricultural Act of 1965, which removed one-third of the 925,000 cotton acres from production.

A wage survey conducted by the Department of Labor in 1965 covered 1.5 million farmworkers; 70 percent of them were paid less than $1.25 an hour and 54 percent were paid less than $0.75 an hour. Many of these people were recipients of commodities issued by the Department of Agriculture. Now, today many of these people are being required to purchase food stamps to secure much-needed food.

Mississippi has shown no net increase in population between 1950 and 1966, due to the fact that the Negro outmigration and, to a very small degree, the white outmigration has wiped out the population gained through birth. Between 1950 and 1966, 1,460,000 people migrated to northern urban areas from the rural South. Through this period there were no efforts to stem the movement of these people out of the rural South and no programs initiated to attack the conditions that forced the movement of these people away from their natural homes.

We find today a growing concern on the part of the Federal Government inspired by the demands of an awakened populace (the poor people of the rural South) to truly wage war on rural poverty. How is this poverty evidenced in the Mississippi Delta, for example. The per capita income in Bolivar is $600 per year. Sixty-five percent of the families residing in 11 of the 18 Delta Counties had an income of $3,000 or less in 1960.

The immediate and overriding problem is to keep Negroes (who are the displaced and the poor we have been talking about) in the Mississippi Delta. Remember, 20 years ago these same people were intimidated and forced to stay because their presence was required in order to keep a large enough labor pool so the wage level of hired hands could be kept to a near subsistence level. They are now economically outdated as labor (no jobs, no food, no houses) and politically unwanted.

The urgency of this problem demands that we must harness the power of the Federal Government and private industry. In creating more alternatives than the one presented to these people by the plantation owner and the local power structure when they say, YOU CAN STAY AND STARVE OR GO TO CHICAGO.

Demands

(1) We must immediately move toward providing some temporary housing for the presently displaced and soon-to-be-evicted Negro agricultural worker, the creation of local low-cost housing authorities, and housing for the aged.

(2) We must move immediately to provide some temporary employment programs for these people—jobs that will also employ the large numbers of women who now are heads of households.

(3) We must initiate new job-training programs for both the unemployed and underemployed people in the Mississippi Delta and throughout the rural South.

(4) The Federal Government must get down to the grassroots level to assist in organizing and supporting the efforts of local groups in putting together real programs aimed toward community development (i.e., broaden the opportunity for the poor to make decisions in the crucial areas which affect their lives.)

(5) Finally, the Federal Government through the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare can no longer permit the misuse of Federal funds in the areas of public welfare and education.

(6) If there is food available (and there is) we must feed those that are hungry throughout the rural South. Quality education can be had in the rural South, and if the Federal Government will listen, the majority of the poor people are in the vanguard of this fight. Title I funds must be put to their proper use to enrich the quality of education available. More support by OEO and other Government agencies must come to the efforts of poor people's organizations to control and administer their own programs in the fashion of the Association of Communities of Bolivar County and the Child Development Group of Mississippi. If the Federal Government merely creates programs for which Negroes are the passive, inactive recipients then they are endorsing welfarism.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY CLEO W. BLACKBURN

Governor Breathitt, members of this Commission, good morning. I bring you greetings and sincere best wishes from Mr. H. Bruce Palmer, chairman of the board of directors of the Board for Fundamental Education; Mr. Charles A. Meyer, president; and all our board members.

The Board for Fundamental Education is extremely honored and pleased to have been invited to take part in these important hearings, and to be invited to project our views on rural poverty. I personally count it a distinct honor to represent the Board for Fundamental Education on this occasion.

Everyone of us knows how truly great America is—how truly great it is to be an American, living within the safety of American shores. Our prosperity is the envy of all nations. Our might and physical power are legend. American accomplishments in every area of life have outstripped the pace and distance of all peoples, of all times.

Propelled by individual initiative and pride, this nation of ours at every point in its history has accomplished exactly what it has needed to, exactly what it has wanted to. And indeed, the future holds great promise. In most ears this future promise caresses as the full, compelling tones of the Piper pulling us along smooth, glittering roads in hard pursuit of the visible, attainable American dream. But to too many others—the neglected, the bypassed of our land—the promise is unintelligible, and its shrill sound repels its hearers and reverses them along rutted, uncharted roads to abject poverty and hopeless frustration.

At this point in our history, America must today begin to blend these sounds into a symphony of confidence and hope. We must secure for every one of our citizens in every section of our country the luxury of our dream together with a hope for realization of this dream.

America became great on the strength of our efficient use of natural resources and human resources in concert with our determination to build a free, prosperous, strong nation. No other nation can match us. No nation dares try. However, within our own boundaries, at the very heart of our nation, are weaknesses which if left unrepaired will permit disaster to sieve through. One of the softest of these is poverty in the rural areas of our great country.

In the South where more than half of the rural poor live—

(1) A head of farm stock receives better medical care than the average sharecropper.

(2) A barn to protect cattle is usually in better repair than the tin-roofed, weatherbeaten shack housing an entire family of human beings.

(3) A new baby has less than half the chance of survival as a baby born in an affluent urban setting.

(4) A child thirsting for knowledge is all too often left dehydrated and unprepared to compete in today's world.

(5) Local governments cannot afford to build adequate schools, or buy needed books.

(6) And industry takes many "second looks" before establishing plants in the area.

Yesterday the untrained, uneducated left the South for the promise of the North. Today the college-trained, the prepared are joining in the exodus.

The industrialized metropolitan centers currently are finding it extremely difficult to hold their seams intact. Space is limited. Mechanization and automation do not permit employment of the illiterate and unskilled, and as the result these areas cannot maintain balanced budgets as welfare payments to the newcomers create drains on their financial resources.

In turn the South is losing its brains and manpower. As this loss mounts, the region will be denied additional new plants and the needed income from salaries and taxes. The pit of poverty becomes deeper, and the poor find it even more difficult to extricate themselves.

This is not efficient utilization of natural resources and human resources in the tradition of the builders of our nation. This is not a contribution to our nation's strength.

The Board for Fundamental Education, working in every rural setting from the Mississippi Delta to the coalfields of West Virginia and from the Indian reservations of the West to the Eskimo villages of the Far North, has watched the plight of the rural poor worsen and has expressed our deep concern many times to Government officials.

The Board for Fundamental Education is a nonprofit, nonsectarian national organization dedicated to the concept of helping people to help themselves. This is the only organization of its kind to be chartered by the U.S. Congress.

Today, almost two decades after its founding, the Board for Fundamental Education is operating positive programs designed to uplift the disadvantaged in some 25 States. The Board was created out of the concern of a group of individuals for the people in our country who have been bypassed by opportunity, and it acts as a catalyst, bringing together the resources of the community, providing the stimulation, and relating the resources to the need. The Board for Fundamental Education recognizes that, to be lasting, changes from slums to decent housing, from illiteracy to literacy, from disadvantage to advantage require a basic change in people as well as in their material circumstances. From 1963 through 1965 the Board for Fundamental Education has played a leadership role in 42 community and university-sponsored programs in impoverished areas across rural America. This organization has worked and experimented. We have developed new techniques. We have proven these new tools, and whenever we use them we show definite positive results.

Rural poverty today is not a new challenge. The origin and sustaining source of rural poverty is not a mystery. Rural poverty is not a problem for which this nation need longer grope for an answer. Rural poverty is merely a condition this country has permitted to expand. The Board for Fundamental Education is convinced that America can begin to erase this blight from its countenance immediately. The inventiveness of American business brought into full union with the Federal Government and its vast resources can completely eradicate poverty in all forms almost at the moment of its decision to do so.

The Board for Fundamental Education therefore calls upon the private and public sectors of our great country to come together in a massive program to help the poor provide housing, education, jobs, and health for themselves. We stress self-help because it is our conviction, based upon experience, that lasting progress is made only by those who invest in their own progress.

Business and industrial leaders have historically provided the inventiveness for the nation's economic growth. Their scientific knowledge and creative capacity have successfully produced the goods to satisfy consumer needs as well as to effectively rally resources for the nation's defense. Business must now release some of its brains and divert some of its resources to the demanding task of bringing our rural poor up the road to the standard of decent, productive living.

The Board for Fundamental Education suggests that a new, all-out thrust be undertaken in the South, that portion of our nation rich in natural resources and human talent; that portion of our nation which must be preserved and enriched if our country is to expand and grow. We must pull the shade of night over this interminable day throughout which efforts have been made to penalize the South. We must open a new day in which all Americans of all sections can walk in the illumination of brotherhood and share in the riches that unity of spirit and purpose will produce.

Where do we begin? How do we proceed?

First we must solve the problem of education in the South. The rate of illiteracy in the South is almost three times the national average, standing at 15.1 percent compared to 6.3 percent for the rest of the U.S. In competition for teachers and professors, the South must satisfy itself with less in terms of quality and quantity as this region pays its teachers an average of $1,200 less than teachers in other sections receive.

College professors in the South earn 20 percent less than college professors elsewhere. The South spends $337 per pupil while the rest of the U.S. spends an average of $507 per pupil. The effect is a continuous, staggering circle. High illiteracy sustains a mass of ill-trained manpower, leading to high unemployment and higher welfare rates, which in turn drains the area's financial resources and denies the region the ability to pay for better education.

The Board for Fundamental Education has developed new teaching techniques and materials which can substantially contribute to a renewal of the wasting human resources of the South. Our System for Success, implemented under the direction of Board for Fundamental Education technicians, can advance students four complete grade levels in 150 instructional hours. An illiterate can be moved completely through high school equivalency in less than 2 years. Realizing that the great hub around which the wide wheel of poverty revolves is the undereducated breadwinner who cannot market his talents at a sufficient rate of return to adequately care for his family, the Board for Fundamental Education created this learning program for the express use among adults. However, significant successes have been registered in its application to youth and high school dropouts.

In 1965 the State of North Carolina decided to attack its problem of illiteracy. Working with Dr. Monroe C. Neff and his Department of Adult Education in that State, the Board for Fundamental Education established teacher training institutes throughout North Carolina and trained more than 3,300 teachers in specialized techniques for educating adults, and in the use of the new materials. Subsequently more than 30,000 undereducated adults were given instruction through this program. This effort contributed to the raising of North Carolina's overall education level and gave new qualifications to thousands of that State's jobseekers.

Administered in concert with new efforts at maintenance and upgrading of the public school system in the interests of the children, this adult education program carried out on the community level throughout the South, can work wonders.

The people of the South need jobs, and better jobs. The condition can be finally remedied only when sufficient industry is located in the Southern States. Much of this industry will have to be located away from the established urban centers, closer to the pockets of rural poor. As this movement and redistribution is taking place, business can do much.

The Board for Fundamental Education has developed a new program which can relieve the recruitment and training burden of industry, and resolve much of the unemployment problem of the South. In-plant training of undereducated employees is the answer.

While plants are casting their recruitment lines into a shallow pond of available skilled and semiskilled workers, a huge reservoir of potential workers ready to apply for the companies' needs is not being considered. The laborers and maintenance employees, with proper training, can readily move effectively into higher positions. As they move up they satisfy the needs of industry and open entry level positions to those in the area unemployed by virtue of their undereducated status.

The Diamond Alkali Company in Houston, Tex., first demonstrated that this program was practical. Here some 60 employees with long tenure were threatened because their labor pool jobs were being phased out in this automated age. In the preceeding 9 years only two persons from this level, after conventional instruction, were able to pass the tests for upgrading. The Board for Fundamental Education applied its accelerated program, and after 15 weeks 40 percent of those who entered the first class were able to pass promotion tests. Diamond Alkali has established a continuing program under the direction of the Board for Fundamental Education, as the result of this success.

Other companies now using the BFE program are Eastman Kodak, Olin Mathieson Chemical Company, Equitable Life Assurance Society, Caterpillar Tractor Company, E. I. Du Pont Company, Levi Strauss Company, and the Dallas Retail Merchants Association, including seven of that city's leading department stores.

Housing is another area in which the South's poor experience a dire need.

The Board for Fundamental Education has pioneered in self-help housing in this county and is certain this technique can be effectively applied to the relief of the housing problem of the South. Under the BFE program, aspiring homeowners are trained in home-building skills and organized in supervised construction teams to build a home for each member of the team. Land is purchased jointly to reduce the cost, and building materials are secured in the same manner. At the time the new owners move in, they hold up to 40 percent equity in their homes by virtue of their labor. The program enables families to own homes who otherwise might never amass the resources to do so.

The success of a self-help housing venture depends in large measure on the support the owner-builders receive from the financial and business interests of the community in which the effort is undertaken. Ideally, a nonprofit corporation, capitalized with a reasonable revolving fund, should be organized to guarantee sound fiscal and business management for the operation.

Another dimension, and perhaps more important in the rural South, is the rehabilitation of existing homes. Owners can be taught to replace roofs, repair weatherboard, point up bricks, and generally renew their homes. Performed within the team concept, the participants would purchase materials jointly and experience significant savings both in purchasing and labor, through the nonprofit corporation.

The Board for Fundamental Education has been described in a Ford Foundation study of self-help housing in the United States as "the only organization in the country with a meaningful self-help housing program." Our organization has transformed two ugly slums in Indianapolis, Ind., into new communities where more than 400 homes ranging in price from $10,000 to $15,000 were built under our program.

A critical need for better health services exists today in the South. From conception to the grave, the rural poor is only half as well off as the average citizen in the rest of the country. He does not live near a source of medical service, and the region experiences a severe shortage of doctors. His illness too often is not discovered until too late, and upon discovery, too many times his illness cannot be treated. There is a dramatic correlation between a State's per capita income and its infant mortality rate. Mississippi with the lowest per capita income in the nation has the highest infant mortality rate—40 deaths per 1,000—60 percent above the national average.

To improve and safeguard the physical health of the rural poor, the Board for Fundamental Education recommends the establishment of community health centers and the development of a broad program of health and health education. The centers should be equipped with the most advanced equipment for the early detection of illness and disease and staffed with knowledgeable technicians, directed by physicians who devote only part of their time. In addition, the mobile laboratory equipped to give chest X-rays and detect a variety of chronic illnesses can well be utilized in the South. The Board for Fundamental Education operates such a health center in a poor section of Indianapolis, in cooperation with the local board of public health.

The Board for Fundamental Education sees the primary needs of the rural poor as the primary needs of the poor everywhere—education, jobs, housing, and health.

The aspirations of the rural poor are oriented to fairly simple goals: the provision for their families of a comfortable, secure existence. They want to be useful, productive, and decent. And they want these modest gains in keeping with the American ideals of dignity and independence, and freedom. They want to compete and earn, not be discarded and supported.

The combination of forces for good in this country, drawing upon the total strengths of both the public and private sectors, must today extend to the rural poor the needed resources and technology to raise his level of preparation to a level which will enable him to help himself to the needs of himself and his family.

The Board for Fundamental Education is eager to put its total experience and resources to work in the South, and for the benefit of the rural poor who live there.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY JUANITA JOYNER

I am Juanita Joyner. I am the mother of three children, 13, 12, and 6 years of age. I am their only support. I receive $120 per month from ADC, which I am grateful for; but it is not nearly enough to take care of a family this large.

Private home work is OK., but it just doesn't pay enough. What I need right now is a job that pays enough money to take care of my family. Then I could be taken off welfare. This is the reason I taken this course in upholstery. At the end of 18 weeks, I and 17 other students received certificates, which I was very proud of. Some of the students was placed on jobs immediately; some was placed later. I was one of the ones placed later.

I got a chance to work for 2½ weeks before I was laid off for lack of work. Now I am out of work, out of school, and off welfare—no source of income. In the meantime, I am looking for work and trying to get back on welfare. Finally after about 2 months I was put back on ADC.

Then about a month later I was called back to work providing I wanted to take the chance of working another 2 or 3 weeks again and maybe getting laid off again when the work got slack. Now I am afraid if I take this job I will be off welfare, and when I get laid off I will have to go through this same upleasant ordeal all over again.

I don't mind taking a chance if I figure it will pay off. Right now what I need is a job where I won't be afraid of being laid off. The War on Poverty program will mean help for a lot of us. This is why I do think that this program is a big step in the right direction for the poor folk, with large families and small income due to limited education.

When I say limited education, we've got lots of folks that don't even know what the words mean, War on Poverty. If I may, I am going to try to define the two words "war" and "poverty." I am poverty and you are war. I need you much more than you need me. I know I need you because I want more out of life than just a handout. Many of our folk have accepted handouts so long until they are satisfied. A lot of us want to help ourselves but don't know how to go about seeing the proper people. Now this is my idea; maybe a fieldworker; someone to convince these folk that they can help themselves, and to help these folk that want to help themselves; someone to go into these slum areas and work with these folk. I can imagine this would be quite expensive, but so is the War on Poverty as a whole.

This War on Poverty program is the best solution yet for the poor folk, but I don't think that you are getting your message across clear enough. We need someone to work with us and the industries represented by you. What I am trying to say is this, and the reason I say this is because I have experienced it: I can take my upholstery certificate and go to every upholstery shop and factory in Memphis and they would tell me, "Sorry, we are not hiring today." Or maybe if I am lucky I will get a chance to fill out an application. Whereas if I had some one to represent me to any particular factory or firm, I would be hired on the spot and would not have to worry about being laid off as long as I did a good job.

For the most part we don't want or need charity; we want a chance. And I do believe you as a representative from the War on Poverty program headquarters—you are our door to a brighter tomorrow. Thank you.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY W. W. CAMPBELL

INSIGHTS INTO RURAL POVERTY

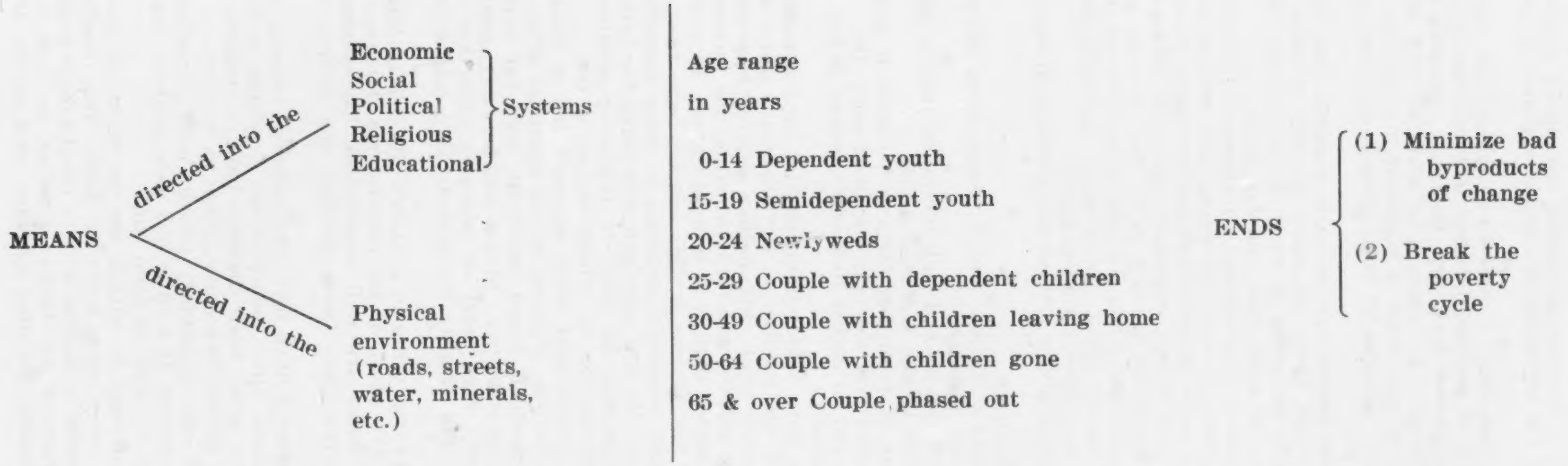
A basic question that any society must answer is "How will the national product be allocated?" In the United States, the typical answer to this question is as follows: A person works a given number of hours a week, wages are paid, and wages are exchanged for products. The amount of products that a worker can claim depends on his (her) being employed, wage rate, number of hours worked, and product prices.

The social system in the United States has placed great emphasis on increases in technology and rapid adoption of the technology, which is translated into change. Change means that demands for inputs (including labor) and products change rapidly, even drastically. For example, farm machinery has been substituted for the bulk of farm labor since 1940. Skills and skill levels of the entire work force are periodically rendered obsolete. New skills are necessary for an individual to be able to maintain or increase his (her) claim on products in the national output. The typical pattern since 1940 has been a movement of persons to urban areas and the acquiring of new skills to maintain incomes. Those who were unwilling to move and/or learn new skills frequently accepted poverty level incomes.

The hope to "make it" in farming, combined with the natural preference for the familiar, encourages too many marginal farmers to continue farming while precious years and training opportunities silently erode away. Too long a period at subsistence level of income produces a family "locked into farming," despite the low income potential such a farm offers. These farmers have inadequate information for an early diagnosis of their farming potential. Their management errors are too numerous, and this attempt at farming preempts the less financially demanding years when training is normally acquired.

Even these farmers with adequate potential often fail to tailor their business to their own resources and organizational and operational abilities. The final result of these characteristics which are peculiar to agriculture is: all producers find success more difficult when too many remain to compete for land resources needed to use modern technology effectively; therefore, we find many displaced farmers and agricultural workers contributing heavily to urban unemployment. Surface manifestations of this process are low income and rural poverty.

Now, let's turn to some of the ends or goals that society strives to achieve. Society cannot stop changes; rather, it seeks to minimize the effects of change that perpetuate and/or materially increase the number of persons in poverty.


MEANS
directed into the
Economic
Social
Political
Religious
Educational
Systems
directed into the
Physical environment (roads, streets, water, minerals, etc.)
Age range in years
0-14 Dependent youth
15-19 Semidependent youth
20-24 Newlyweds
25-29 Couple with dependent children
30-49 Couple with children leaving home
50-64 Couple with children gone
65 & over Couple phased out
ENDS
(1) Minimize bad byproducts of change
(2) Break the poverty cycle

In our society there is increasing concern that many public welfare programs provide little thrust for achieving the longer run goal of breaking the poverty cycle.

An essential question, then, is how to categorize the poverty cycle to show points most sensitive to policies designed to break the cycle. Age grouping is the index system suggested here (see diagram). Persons in the various age groupings have different (1) needs, (2) abilities, (3) attitudes in varying degrees of formulation and levels of responsibility. All are related to age and can strongly influence the ease of the socioeconomic and geographical adjustment.

The simple diagram shown here strongly suggests that there is not a single poverty problem; rather, there are many poverty problems depending on the age grouping to which reference is made. It is granted, of course, that some problems are common to more than one age grouping.

We have now suggested the ends and a framework for considering the means, but we have not mentioned what the means are. Before doing this, does our framework suggest a major priority for considering the problems of the various age groupings? I believe it does, especially if we are influenced by the ends, or goals, which might break the poverty cycle. The two age groupings, 15 to 19 and 20 to 24, are significant when the end is selection of the most vulnerable point to break the poverty cycle. The greatest emphasis should be with these age groups, due to the following advantages:

(1) They are probably giving serious consideration to leaving home and they are free to do so.

(2) Many are still single.

(3) They must make a decision now to obtain more education and training, or enter the labor force directly.

(4) Some of their attitudes and skill levels can still be adjusted.

(5) They have little if any financial debts.

(6) The fixed costs of preparing them to be able to participate effectively in society can be spread over the entire span of work life.

Now we can turn our attention to specific means. What are some steps to reduce rural low income?

Over the years we have achieved substantial improvements in the standard of living for most of our population. But there are many who have failed to share in the prosperity that this nation enjoys. Because of the peculiar characteristics of agriculture and rural America, the incidence of low income in rural America is higher than it is in urban areas. In addition, many of the causative factors of low income in this country have their roots in rural or agricultural areas. Any successful program to raise incomes must attack and eliminate those causes. No one approach will solve the problems of the poor. But a number of steps may be taken to reduce or eliminate low income in rural areas, and I would like to briefly suggest a few.

It has been well proven that level of education is closely and positively related to per capita income. A survey of the countries of the world shows that nearly every country which has a relatively high per capita income has a relatively high level of education. Stated another way, nearly every country which has a relatively high level of education also has a relatively high income. Thus, there is a remedy for poverty in a nation where employment opportunities exist.

We know that the early years in a child's life are of vital importance. By the time a child is five, most of his culture, his thinking patterns, and his patterns of aggressiveness are well established. The homes of many underprivileged children often place these children one to two years behind their classmates.

The Headstart programs have been successful in helping students get off to the same level in school. Since money is not available to do the total job, it seems more logical to make sure that we have a complete program for all children the summer before they enter school in the fall.

To accompany this, our elementary schools need remedial educational programs for the slow learners. If a child is a slow student, naturally he becomes discouraged and soon is ready to drop out.

We recognize an attempt to attack the problems of juvenile delinquency and school dropouts after they occur is much like treating the symptoms rather than the causes of a disease. Parent development programs are needed, particularly for mothers of low income families, to show them how to keep house and raise the family. Existing agencies, such as the Agricultural Extension Service in their home economics program, and the Welfare Department and Health Department, could be strengthened to further services and programs to these people.

Aids, or nonprofessionls, working under the leadership and training of these agencies can serve as a bridge to reach these families. The aids use the same language and can help set standards for the poor. One of the ways disadvantaged families can learn skills needed to join society is to practice and become proficient in them. Thus, aids can provide this significant path needed to reach the poor with new information.

To further the youth development process, these young people need experience and opportunities in other outside activities. The majority of our youth in the disadvantaged classes belong to no group or organization. Some of these youth in our country have been involved in a special youth program being conducted by the Extension Service on a pilot basis. Again, the nonprofessionals are reaching youth where the professionals cannot.

For those families who have an adequate farm income potential and who would make most of their livelihood from farming, an adequate pre-farming and in-farming training program and educational program could be designed. This would help make optimum use of those resources through improved organizations, operations, and management, and provide more adequate and equitable incomes within agriculture.

The efforts we have carried out in eastern Arkansas with fruit and vegetable production is a good example. We have established markets for these products, assisting the farmers through the informal educational programs of the USDA and the University of Arkansas. And, we have used Farmers Home Administration and Economic Opportunity cooperative loans to strengthen the marketing program for low income families. We still need assistance in strengthening our farm-to-market road program that could help these producers.

For those farmers who are "locked in agriculture" and who do not have an adequate farm income potential and who must seek nonfarm opportunities, the first step could be to develop a counseling program for young people in rural areas. The objective would be to overcome this remoteness and the lack of understanding of the nonfarm employment opportunities. This program should help rural youth recognize their potential and aptitudes early and encourage them to acquire the training, skills, and education as soon as possible. This will mean some substantial changes among rural schools in the State and will add additional emphasis to improve and develop vocational technical training and education.

We feel the 10 vocational technical schools we are getting in Arkansas will greatly aid in alleviating many of our educational problems. The rural schools and vocational training centers have a challenge to give modern up-to-date education and training to equip farm and rural youth for nonfarm employment. Every school should have a guidance counselor devoting full time to helping students plan for the future.

A retraining program could be directed primarily at young to middle-aged farmers with family responsibilities and relatively low incomes and potential. The project would help these people with inadequate resources to get additional training and to learn new skills to prepare them for nonfarm employment opportunities that would provide a reasonable nonfarm employment potential. To be successful, this program would require some form of assistance to meet the family responsibilities of the trainee while he is receiving his vocational training. This program would be expected to be temporary. By helping these individuals prepare themselves and secure adequate nonfarm employment, we will be eliminating one of the basic causes of rural poverty. This training for employment opportunities should eliminate the need for further assistance on a permanent basis.

Another suggested means would be directed at continuing industrial and economic development, particularly in rural areas. Increased job opportunities in rural areas would provide employment where the unemployed or underemployed are located and where the problem exists.

Increased employment opportunities in rural areas would result in a minimum amount of relocation and disruption of family and community life. Continuing economic and industrial growth and development is one of the cornerstones of any program to raise the income level in either rural or urban areas. By having a strong and growing economy, we can provide jobs for all those who want jobs and make them productive and self-sufficient citizens who contribute to the economic welfare of the nation. They can be responsible, proud, and informed citizens who participate and contribute to the growth and strength of local communities.

With the minimum hourly wage increase for farmworkers, consideration should be given to training of farm equipment operators. This program was in effect a few years back. However, it was discontinued for some unknown reason. I ask you—how can a farmer afford to put a laborer with a third or fourth grade level of education on a cottonpicker, combine, or even a tractor where he has thousands of dollars invested? This has been and is still a serious problem to the rural people.

As you know, the majority of the rural people do not desire to move and will be required to commute to jobs in town or the urban areas. One of the problems is that almost half of the accidents and deaths in our country occur on rural roads. Therefore, it seems that a driver education program would be important in reducing accidents and in assisting these people in their commuting to and from work. To minimize cost in establishing this education for the local areas, it seems that a program could be established for a county where the equipment could be rotated between school systems and would do an effective job.

Some of the problems that are evident in working on the poverty situation are as follows:

(1) In our own State it seems that too much redtape has been involved in getting the programs to the local people. First, guidelines and forms are slow in being developed. Secondly, when they reach the local level, they are too complicated.

(2) It seems that existing agencies, which were already well established over the nation with local agencies, could speed up the programs in reaching the poverty pocket. This would eliminate the establishment of new agencies for this purpose. It is recognized that additional resources would need to be provided to these agencies so that they could step up their programs to these groups.

(3) A greater public understanding needs to be developed as we seek to minimize poverty. For instance, people must recognize that programs being established are not handouts.

(4) In the training programs being administered for the low income families, careful consideration should be given to the group to which these are being offered. For example, what value will it be to society to educate and train an individual who is past the working level? It seems the greatest investment for our nation to these individuals might be through the social security or welfare programs.

(5) Another problem in establishing programs at the local level is that agencies have gone beyond the level of the community in the administration of the programs. I mean by this that salary levels for teachers and administrators have been much higher than those in similar professions at the local level. This has presented a great deal of local opposition to such programs.

Although this list is not exhaustive, these are some of the points I've considered important as MEANS to use in working toward the ENDS: (1) minimizing the bad byproducts of change, and (2) breaking the poverty cycle.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY LOUIS TWOMEY

Today we are discussing rural America and its relation to conditions prevailing in our urban centers. The critical fact is that we are faced with a seriously volatile situation in that throughout the nation are developing enclaves of unemployables who have little or no stake in society. I speak of our urban centers whose slum areas are becoming great refuges for unskilled, uneducated, and unemployable migrants from nearby rural areas.

We all know the causes of urban ghetto development and expansion. In order to help alleviate such pressures on our inner cities, we must deal with those now living in rural poverty in one of two ways: (1) Enable them to participate actively in and assume viable shares of rural economic life; or (2) adequately prepare those who will migrate so they can become contributing members to urban life.

These tasks are gigantic—they must be accomplished if we are ever to hope for a real synthesis of human resources and economic development in all America—rural and urban.

The suggestions which follow have evolved in my own mind, strengthened not only by my experience as a member of the National Manpower Advisory Committee of the U.S. Department of Labor and of the U.S. Department of Agriculture Committee on Civil Rights, but also by practical experience in the rural areas of southeast Louisiana.

For over 2 years the staff of Loyola University's Institute of Human Relations has been dealing directly with poverty-stricken rural residents whose one chance in life was a program of basic education and vocational MDTA training. Observations of the staff are incorporated herein.

It is no secret that life founded on agrarian economy is rapidly disappearing. Older men and women displaced by mechanization and consolidation of farms presently comprise a large segment of those living in rural poverty. The bulk of the tidal wave now rushing into the cities is made up of those young men and women under 35 years of age who can no longer, and who no longer desire to, find employment—however unstable—on the farm. It is precisely their vitality which is crucial to development and stability of rural areas.

The question, then, is how do we help rural men and women of all ages to assume viable shares of rural economic development? There are four possibilities: (1) Help rural poor become skilled in farm machinery maintenance and operation and thus prepare them for stable and gainful employment within the existing large agricultural operations; (2) afford the marginal farmer the opportunity to learn techniques of diversified agriculture; (3) provide opportunities to rural unemployed to gain new skills and thus jobs in local nonfarm industry; (4) provide opportunities for rural youth to gain skills enabling them to find meaningful employment in urban centers within commuting distance of their rural homes.

Independent small farmers might also work in local nonfarm industry. Combinations of the aforementioned possibilities are realistic considerations.

We will first consider the means through and by which it is possible to make life a total and worthwhile experience for those still residing in rural America.

We note that all four possibilities for retaining rural residents hinge on the word "skill." We must, however, begin with basic literacy education and prevocational training in order that these persons may be adequately equipped to take full advantage of skill training. Skill training must be realistically geared to the developing market as well as to the goals and aptitudes of those to be trained. We must not lose the spirit of the individual in this process. We must also work with and encourage rural nonfarm industrialists to assist in skill training—after all, who else better knows what skills are needed, and who is better equipped to design training programs? This is a vital source of untapped talent in the field of human resources development. We can and must work hand in hand with industry in this endeavor.

Organized labor is seriously lagging in providing apprenticeship and employment opportunities for rural poor, especially those who are also minority group members. Because rural-based industry is rapidly expanding, the local labor force should be tapped. "Imported labor," when a pool of local labor exists, is an unfair concept. Again, we can and must work with the unions to effect the total synthesis of human and economic development.

Those individuals who choose to remain in agriculture and are not equipped with marketable skills cannot survive as seasonal farm laborers. The demand diminishes daily. Therefore, we should and must equip them with skills needed for employment in today's highly mechanized agricultural industry.

Because those who now live in rural poverty have no stake in the growth and development of their communities, skill training per se cannot alone provide the impetus for membership within the ongoing society. Thus we can and should actively work to help those isolated in rural poverty (especially those in double isolation because of racial prejudice) escape the pitfalls of the prevalent victim image which produces self-defeating behavior. They can develop creative self-images—self-images which will allow them to utilize the opportunities outlined above, and thereby constructively guide their lives. Our staff has worked extensively with the development of creative self-images among the rural poor in Louisiana. Only when armed with this tool can the stabilizing influences of skill training take effect.

Because they have been systematically excluded from the mainstream, those nonwhites isolated in rural poverty do not know how to go about "participating" in society. The fundamentals of consumer education, responsibilities of citizenship as well as the "how to" of applying for jobs are complementary and necessary areas which should be included in making rural life a viable reality for its culturally and economically destitute.

We should establish a network of well-designed outreach offices to serve as coordination centers for the multitude of activities already described. Essential in this respect is assistance to local rural communities in the development of their own resources toward a total synthesis of human and economic potential.

In this context we must insist that governmental agencies, to which duties of serving rural residents are entrusted, give as much energy to serving the poor and the nonwhite as they do to those economically established. Our employment offices and county agents are not now equipped to handle these massive tasks. Discrimination does exist—both within and without the agency framework. It must be eradicated if we are to preserve any semblance of justice in rural America.

Our second consideration deals directly with the problems of how to best prepare those rural residents who choose to migrate to urban centers. The prospectus is not promising. Those migrating out of rural poverty can be equated on a one-to-one basis to those living in ghetto desperation.

What I am going to suggest is mammoth in scope and will require initiative, ingenuity, and stamina.

The outreach centers mentioned above must also serve as halfway stations for those rural residents migrating to the city. Here prevocational courses, referral to training programs, basic education, and general citizenship training can be geared to help the "migrant" bridge the gap between rural and urban living.

If several outreach centers are carefully coordinated with an urban preparation center within a nearby city, the prognosis for successful participation in urban life will be positive. Here, those rural residents who arrive without marketable skills can receive job training, basic education, and assistance in adjusting to the city. If already skilled, they may be placed on the job directly without having to weather the ghetto battle for survival and without ever becoming a passive member of the community. The key here is action, and active participation must be the goal.

Here, too, we must include the business community and organized labor. Only with the cooperation of industry and labor can such a plan succeed. Jobs must be developed, not only just found. The community will need assistance in coping with the growing pains associated with the process of assimilation. It will not be easy—outreach is difficult, as are training and job development, coordination with the business segment, and education of the community.

But we must face the harsh fact that the situation is worsening. Hopefully, we can bring to bear on the problem enough determination and perserverance to make it possible to reconstruct meaningful lives for the rural poor in our countrysides or to prepare them for assuming constructive roles within our urban centers.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THERESA SMITH

The Community Action program has been one of the greatest things that has ever happened in Richmond, Ky., and Madison County. I love the program so much that I have worked in it as a volunteer for 2 years.

I do know, however, that the people the program is designed for are not getting as much as they should be from it. People who participate in educational programs, and particularly those employed within the school systems, are the ones who have benefited most from the program in our area. I don't want anyone to think I am against education, for I myself have profited very much from adult basic education classes; but there are so many other things that are needed by the people too.

The people who need the program are no more able to participate in the OEO educational programs than they are able to participate in the multitude of other health and welfare programs that have been designed for them. The really low income people seldom find out about these programs, or, if they do, they do not know or believe that they can participate. Many of them really can't participate in such programs for they are too old, too sick, too tired, or too uncomfortable when dealing with people whom they do not know. If community action is to help the people, let us have programs that will help people to make better use of what is already available to them. Low income people working in our Medicare Alert program have demonstrated the value of such programs to us and have shown that, because they are trusted by their neighbors, low income people make effective workers in such programs.

Another thing which is needed is some kind of day care facilities to take good care of children while their mothers work to support their families. Any programs which enable people to work for a living are really appreciated, for what people want is not a handout, but a chance to help themselves.

In Richmond and Madison County, through the Community Action program we have been able to help ourselves. We have set up our own credit union and are saving our money and making loans, too. We have also started three community centers. We have had suppers, dances, and auctions to raise money to pay for our buildings and equipment.

The best thing about the Community Action program is that it is our program. No matter who you are or how poor you are, you can say what you think and be heard. The program is everybody's program. It is just what we make of it. I myself intend to keep working in it as long as I am able, to make it the best program possible and to see that the people it is for are the ones who benefit from it.

I don't know who is responsible for my being here, but I want whoever it is to know how grateful I am for this opportunity.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY CAROLYN RUSSELL

RURAL POVERTY AND HOME ECONOMICS EXTENSION

I grew up in a rural community where poverty was no stranger. Most of the families in my community were in poverty by today's standards.

Problems of the Rural Poor

The problems of the rural poor are the same today as they were then—how to get more income, how to feed, clothe, house, and educate my family within the limits of my income. The problem of family relations and broken homes was very much in evidence.

The land grant university system with its extension arm has focused on these problems for decades. I cannot help but wonder just how much more serious the poverty problem would be today if not for the research and educational services that have been rendered by this basic institution in our society.

Education backed up by basic and applied research has been the primary moving force in rural communities in this country. It has prevented the problems of poverty in rural America from being much worse than they are. If it had not been for the effective education and research program relating to rural America, poverty throughout the country would probably have reached intolerable proportion long ago.

Adult education programs in rural America have helped countless numbers of hired workers and sharecroppers move up the ladder to landowner and have helped families manage their limited earnings to provide a better life for themselves. Educational programs for rural youth outside the classroom have encouraged many young people to stay in school, go to college, or get technical training. These programs have also shown rural youth what life and work is like outside the rural community.

The primary source of research and new knowledge regarding the problems of rural America is the land grant university system. Cooperative extension is the arm of this university system that reaches into every community in the country. This constant stream of knowledge is the very lifeblood of rural communities and the men, women, boys, and girls that live there. My statement will focus on one phase of the extension program in one county of North Carolina. My remarks will be directed to the home economics work of the Extension Service in Forsyth County. This county, although increasingly more urban, is in the Appalachian region and still has a large rural population with a high percentage in poverty.

The Subject Matter of Home Economics Extension

A fundamental dichotomy exists with respect to the problems of poverty within a family. The problem, on the one-hand, is how to earn more. On the other hand, the question is how to live better within the limits of your income. It is hard to determine which side of the problem is more important.

Home economics extension has been concerned primarily with the aspect of the problem having to do with how to live better within the limits of poor resources. It has been or still is interested in the problems of providing the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—and the luxuries that various levels of income will afford.

The subject matter disciplines of home economics extension are well established. A basic philosophy of extension, however, is that it places priority in each community based upon the needs of the people in that community. An intensive effort is made on a continuing basis to determine the needs of the people in each community and to orient the educational efforts to these needs.

Educational Techniques of Home Economics Extension

The educational techniques of extension are many and varied. They are all related, however, to the objective of reaching as many people as possible with a limited number of extension personnel.

The basic problem in adult education is to get people into the setting. One of the primary techniques of Home Economics Extension in doing this has been through the establishment of home demonstration clubs. We have in my county at the present time 44 clubs that meet once each month and participate in an educational program.

Another method of reaching people and providing educational experience is through work with other agencies. The welfare department, churches, YWCA's, and others provide the clientele and settings within which educational programs and materials can be presented.

Mass media and special publications are also used extensively. The resources of the university are especially helpful in providing educational materials that can be distributed directly to the general public.

Workshops, conferences, and seminars are used extensively by extension to provide education in depth on specific problems.

Leadership Development

An all-pervading principle of extension education is to develop leaders that can "extend extension." It was recognized long ago that extension employees working alone could not really make an impact on the problems of people. In every home demonstration club, each member is expected to work with at least one nonclub member on a specific problem. The educational activities within the clubs are conducted primarily by the membership with extension personnel acting in a resource capacity.

The development of leadership is a primary technique for extending educational experiences. It might be noted that this is also an end within itself. It is not difficult to select examples of how leadership development has helped to reach educational objectives. Mrs. Nunn, who will make a statement immediately following mine, will provide a specific example of how leaders developed through extension programs have used initiative in carrying out projects especially directed to rural poverty.

Direct Relationship to Hard-Core Poverty

Home economics extension has found many of its efforts directed to the problems of hard-core poverty. A specific example includes a project related to the food stamp program. The families eligible for this program did not recognize what nutritional needs of the families were not being met. A joint effort by the home economics staff and the local welfare department helped these families to recognize their needs, and showed them how needs could be at least partially met through the food stamp program. Home economics extension personnel followed up the initial meetings with series of classes to show how to use additional food to improve family feeding.

A nutrition committee formed by home economics extension serves on a continuing basis to assure the needs of low income people in Forsyth County. A series of educational classes have been planned in the spring for the aging. The health department nutritionists, home economists, for private utility companies and the Dairy Council, school social workers, school lunch program supervisors, health educators, and others are involved. This nutrition committee publishes a monthly publication for all food stamp recipients featuring one of the basic food groups. Information on buying, preparation, and serving are examples of the content of this publication.

Nutrition studies show that most diets are deficient in vitamin C. This is particularly true among low income families. This past year, efforts were made to correct this situation by providing a packet of tomato seed with instructions for planting and growing to every recipient of food stamps. Arrangements were made in advance with the public housing director to allow the recipients to use the yards for growing vegetables.

Extension has worked effectively with other agencies to attack poverty directly. The county welfare agency, for example, brought their clients to classes on foods and nutrition conducted by extension. Welfare personnel arranged transportation and kept the children while mothers were in class.

Sewing classes and educational activities associated with supermarket purchases have been conducted in cooperation with the residents of public housing projects.

These are a few examples of activities of Extension working directly with hard-core poverty over the years. The educational activities relating specifically to poverty have increased substantially in the recent months primarily because of the availability of additional resources.

Recent Poverty-Related Projects

The Office of Economic Opportunity action program has been active in Forsyth County for a little over a year. Extension home economics agents worked with the local community leaders in developing this program and has contracted with their agency for an expanded home management program.

Some of the special activities associated with this program included a project to train subprofessional aids to teach home economics to poverty families. Two additional home economists and 10 subprofessional aids have been hired.

A demonstration house is a part of this project. It is to be furnished, decorated, and maintained on a low income budget. The clientele involved in the educational program will work on the house in planning, refinishing floors and furniture, painting walls, purchasing secondhand furniture, making mattresses and accessories.

Another activity associated with this expanded effort includes organizing home management clubs to provide the means for reaching clientele on a continuing basis and developing leadership. These clubs are conducting workshops and classes in foods, clothing, housing, family relations, and management. These are the same types of programs that have been carried out by extension over the years, but without the resources to reach all of the families that needed them.

The ease with which these new projects can be added to extension programs when additional resources are made available is evidence of the flexibility and professional competence that has been built into this adult education institute. Home economics disciplines, including nutrition, clothing, housing, health and family living, and household management, to support the local extension effort are well established. Specialists and research personnel available at the land grant university are professionals with the capacity to adapt reality to new opportunity and challenges.

Probably the greatest asset of extension is the tremendous backing of leadership that has been developed. These leaders have been trained to look beyond their own home, to the community, State and Nation. They stand ready to assist extension in trying out new programs and will go to any length to increase the level of living of all the people in the community.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY H. S. "HANK" BROWN

My name is H.S. "Hank" Brown, president of the Texas AFL-CIO, and I represent some 350,000 union members throughout Texas. I will discuss the problems of rural farm labor and poverty in general.

Draw a line between Dallas and Houston and look South. One sees broad prosperity, yet incredible percentages of people exist on annual per capita incomes of below $1,000 a year. In many counties adult education averages under 6 years.

Of the total population in Texas, 29.7 percent of the families live on a median family income of less than $3,000; 19 percent of these on less than $2,000.

In fact, according to the Bureau of the Census, 4,010,572 Americans with a yearly income below the poverty line of $3,000 live in Texas.

According to a 1964 U.S. Department of Agriculture leaflet, "Rural Poverty," there are 24 counties in the 5 states in Soutwestern United States that have a median rural family income between $1,535 and $2,212, causing them to fall among the 250 poorest counties in rural income in the country. Twenty-two of these counties are in Texas, mostly in the southern (Mexican-American) and eastern part; the counties, with their median income for rural families—all of them in Texas—are:

Starr, $1,535; Jim Hogg, $1,665; Houston, $1,704; San Jacinto, $1,737; Zapata, $1,766; Grimes, $1,797; Washington, $1,803; Kenedy, $1,844; Marion, $1,924; Freestone, $1,935; Leon, $1,946; Red River, $1,959; De Witt, $1,961; Falls, $1,970; Robertson, $1,999; Lavaca, $2,009; Lee, $2,017; Rains, $2,044; San Augustine, $2,068; Walker, $2,083; Bastrop, $2,107 and Madison, $2,111.

According to the 1965 Texas Migrant Labor Report by the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas, the total number of migrants, interstate plus intrastate—men, women and children—is over 167,000. In 1964, this figure was 129,000. This represents an increase of 38,600. Youths under 16, up from 46,000 to 58,000. School-age youths, up from 25,000 to 31,500. Men 16 and over, up from 48,000 to 63,000. Women 16 and over, up from 35,000 to 46,000. Unattached women, up from 1,600 to 1,900. Unattached men, up from 10,000 to 12,500.

The Good Neighbor Commission said the per capita income of migrants was "less than $1,000" per year. Eighty per cent had to travel out of the State to earn that money—and from the Magic Valley in south Texas that's a long ride in the back of a truck. Ninety-five percent of the Texas migrants are Mexican-Americans and call the Lone Star State their home.

According to the 1960 census, there were 829,218 functional illiterates, over 47,000 complete illiterates (in two languages, English and Spanish) in the State, most of them in south Texas and the vast majority Mexican-American farmworkers.

The U.S. Office of Education reported recently that Texas has more "disadvantaged" children than any other State in the Union. There are 498,224 children in Texas families having incomes of less than $2,000 per year. Many of these are the children of migrant parents or are migrants themselves.

The living conditions of the Mexican-Americans are perhaps America's best-kept secret. There is a "tortilla curtain" along the Rio Grande. Romanticism and the "southwestern atmosphere" have concealed "Mexican-American poverty, economic decline, malnutrition, abandoned villages, eroded lands, high rates of infant and adult mortality, and out-migration, economic and cultural exploitation, and apathy and despair."

Many people don't like to look at human misery for a variety of reasons. Some citizens don't like the realities of earthly existence. They love music, beauty, charm, laughter; but the sordid, the shabby, the diseased repel them. In Brownsville, Tex., a couple of years ago, tours of the slums were organized for the delegates and visitors to our convention. After seeing poverty at first-hand, few of these nice people ever went back. They found no inspiration in the sordid; they found ghastly conditions! It was an experience to forget.

Some citizens see poverty as a rebuke to themselves. The very wealthy are appalled by contrasting their situation to that of the poor.

There are a few citizens who resent poverty and when they stand face to face with desperate human needs they cry out, "Why don't these people get a job and go to work? They must be too lazy to work." Other citizens have the quaint idea that practically all people on relief are cheaters and crooks.

It seems obvious that many in the face of destitution are too busy to notice the tragedies of bad housing, hunger, illiteracy, and disease. They contribute according to their means to the United Fund or the Community Chest, but the degradation of human personality caused by poverty in their city has not been brought to them.

It was in 1891 that Pope Leo XIII wrote his great encyclical "On the Condition of Labor" and said that in previous centuries the "workers had been handed over defenseless and alone, to the inhumanity of employers and the unbridled greed of competitors." These words "defenseless and alone" describe the status of the working man and woman in Southwest Texas. If members of the laboring class are not organized, they stay defenseless and alone.

Agricultural employers cause an immense amount of human suffering by paying 40 and 50 cents an hour. The Texas Highway Department paid these wages in August, 1965: Air tool man, asphalt shoveler and common laborer, $1.25 an hour; mechanical helper, $1.50 an hour. I defy any man to raise a family on a decent standard of living on $1.25 an hour. Defrauding the laborer of his hire is one of the sins that cries out for vengeance.

One might ask why the majority of workers in southwest Texas are unorganized. The cause is not hard to find. The atmosphere in much of this area is not favorable to labor unions. That atmosphere has been created by strongly organized employers, manufacturers, growers, by powerful corporations and vested interests, and in Texas by a legislature that has made labor unions as difficult as possible.

Why do these groups demand that working men stay out of labor unions? Because unorganized workers will work longer hours for less pay under worse conditions than those who are organized.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GA.

NOTES ON RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

The rural poor are being forced off the land by immense economic and technological pressures. This is particularly a problem in the South[1]—which by accepted census and economic definitions is both the most rural and most impoverished region in the United States.

More than 41 percent of the South's populations is classified as rural by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Only 10.8 percent is rural-farm, however. In the 1960 census, of the 22,797,630 southerners designated as rural, nearly 18 million were white and nearly 5 million nonwhite. (In the South, almost all nonwhites are Negroes.) The "rural" designation can be divided into farm and nonfarm categories. Among southern rural nonfarm people, *13.5 million are white and 3.3 million are nonwhite*. Among rural farm people, *4.4 million are white and nearly 1.5 million are nonwhite*. There are only 1.6 million rural farm nonwhites in all the U.S.; thus, most are concentrated in the South.

The poverty of the South is reflected in a recent study in the Social Security Bulletin. According to the study by Mollie Orshansky, more than half of the nation's poor live in the South.

Whereas the majority of the poor in other regions reside in urban areas, considerably more than half the South's poor reside in rural areas.

The extent of poverty in the rural South knows no racial bounds. (There are more white poor than black poor in the region.) Yet a much higher percentage of rural Negroes are poor. More than 80 percent of Negro rural people in the South had annual family incomes of less than $3,000 according to the 1960 census. Forty percent had family incomes below $1,000 annually. By contrast, the percentage of white rural nonfarm families with less than $3,000 annually ranged from 39 percent in South Carolina to 47 percent in Alabama. The range of white farm families below $3,000 annually was from 49 percent in South Carolina to 60 percent in Alabama. Thus both races suffer. The degree of poverty is greater among rural Negroes, but, because there are more rural whites, the total number of white poor is greater.

The Once and Future Influx

In an April 8, 1966, memorandum the National Sharecroppers Fund estimated that mechanization and reduced acreage allotments in the Cotton Belt will create, from a narrow economic perspective, 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 Southern States in the next 10 years.

Because King Cotton's semifeudal socioeconomic order is no longer useful commercially, and because this order no longer requires an abundance of cheap, unskilled black labor, the abrupt changes fall most heavily on the "surplus" Negro poor. The result is the continued mass migration of untrained rural people against their will to join others in the dense and explosive city ghettos of the North and, increasingly, the South.

---

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the South in this paper refers to the 11 states of the Old Confederacy: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Should rural people be afforded the dignity of choosing not to abandon the rural culture? Should they be forced into the pathologies of slum life solely because they have no way to survive if they remain on the land?

Is it not dynamite literally to dump "surplus rural labor" into bulging, impoverished urban slums? Is it not pragmatic and prudent, to say nothing of humane, to try to create new ways of rural life? At the least, this might be attempted on an interim basis if for nothing more than to allow longer term efforts against existing urban poverty to take effect without being swamped by a sharp new influx of the rural poor to the cities.

The Negro Farmer: Attrition, Abolition, or Advance?

The depth and the dimensions of rural poverty can be recognized when some facts about the Negro farmer are considered. Calvin Beale, writing in the "American Negro Reference Books," is realistic:

"To be optimistic about the future of Negro farmers would be to disregard almost every facet of their past and present status and the factors that impinge upon them. But then, the odds have always been against them even in the period when they reached their greatest number."

At their peak in 1920, Negro farmers numbered 926,000, including all tenant farmers. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operators were left. This was 3 percent of all Negro men. (Another 8 percent of all Negro men were employed as wage-earning farm laborers.)

The desperate problem of the Negro farmer has been a lack of land. This dilemma is becoming worse. *In 1964, there were approximately 80,000 Negro farm owners or part-owners out of 180,000 Negro farm operators.* This means that the majority of Negro farmers work another man's land.

The average size of the Negro farm was 52 acres in the 1959 Census of Agriculture, an increase of only 8 acres since 1935. By contrast, the average white farm had increased by 118 acres since 1935 to an average size of 249 acres. This lack of land on which to work and the consequent need to pay rent to or sharecrop with a landowner is reflected in the following statistics: *Somewhat less than 24,000 nonwhite southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products in 1959 when USDA estimated that a farmer must sell $10,000 of products to make $2,500. Of these 24,000 in 1959, only 7,000 owned their land,* and some of the others who were tenants, according to Beale, have probably lost their lease or share arrangements since the 1959 Census of Agriculture.

Nevertheless, Beale estimates that this core of Negro farmers has the potential for commercial success in full-time farming, if the majority of those without land could be provided with a homestead.

In addition, there were *3,000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who produced few goods for sale but had rather steady farm work,* according to the census. Beale's judgement is that this group, these 61,000 out of 180,000 Negro farm operators are the ones with "a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm or nonfarm work." The reader should note that even this "successful" group includes many whose income level is below current poverty lines.

But what of the other Negro farm operators who are not "successful" or the other thousands who work as hired men in burgeoning "agribusiness" corporate farms and in neoplantation servitude? In Beale's view, the crucial factor once again is land. "The possession of land is the key to the future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators." Once again, "the farmer who does not control the land he works does not control his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership experience at a disadvantage."

Nevertheless, Beale proposes that many more than the 61,000 "successful" Negro farmers could be made really "successful" if land in the hands of small-scale owners could be "combined through lease or purchase into larger units, or if Federal programs of assistance in land purchase could be made effective on a widespread basis for low income landless farmers, or if additional nonfarm employment opportunities became available for rural Negroes." We should add immediately that present loan and credit programs are of virtually no help. Moreover, it can be asked, in view of the national commitment to end poverty, whether a new program of land grants should not be considered as a means of halting migration to urban areas.

Our basic purpose, however, is to show the extremity of the Negro farmer's predicament as part of our larger plea that the rural poor in the South be given options which will not force them into an alien urban environment and alienated urban existence. We should note, in addition, that most of the rural poor are not farm operators. The plight of the Negro hired farmworker is often more desperate than that of the farm operator in the South. Clearly, land reform alone will not suffice to transform their deprivation and dependence, but it might, if combined with agricultural training programs and effective minimum wage legislation or income subsidies, offer options to the virtual serfdom which now prevails.

Agriculture and Social Policy

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the various approaches which treat the "farm problem" solely as an economic issue of efficiency, productivity, and resource allocation. Yet the narrowness of such approaches must be pointed out. To most such approaches the "ultimate solution" is to move people off the farms, to destroy the "myth" of the family farm, and to approach food and fiber production with every resource of modern management and technology available. Typical of this approach was the much publicized corporation-sponsored study, "An Adaptive Program for Agriculture," prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Similar in approach but not in all details are "Roots of the Farm Problem" by Earl D. Heady and others of the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development and "Farm Policy: New Directions" by Geoffrey S. Shepherd, an economist also of Iowa State University.

We question the social vision of these judgments. The center of our critique is that these proposals fail to take into account our central concern—the lack of a better alternative to living on the land for thousands of poor southern farmers.

When we consider these proposals for national policy from a regional standpoint, we are impressed by the extent to which they project as *national* goals solutions that seem mostly relevant to the Middle West. The Committee for Economic Development program barely alludes to the "farm problem" as seen in Appalachia. It ignores the Nation's and the South's racism as it blithely suggests moving "surplus" farm labor to cities. Seen from the perspective of what is faced by the rural, *southern* Negro moving to Atlanta, New Orleans, or even Chicago, the CED's easy optimism about finding employment "off the land" has at best a superficial quality.

Broader Considerations in Agriculture

It is the heart of our position that rural poverty cannot be separated from urban poverty and that agricultural policy must be consistent with general economic and social policy. It is also central that the South's unique regional problems not be overlooked in national programs.

Edward Higbee clearly sets his analysis of agricultural policy in an urban context in his book, "Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age." He recognizes the human as well as the social disintegration that accompanies forced migration of rural people to urban areas. He argues that there could be only two acceptable justifications for Federal funds being used to move "inefficient" farmers from the land. One is that a food shortage might require that land be put in hands capable of greater productivity. No such national shortage presently exists. There are indications the other justification might be that farming's "surplus" manpower was demanded by other fields with labor shortages. But since this manpower is untrained to fill shortages of technical labor and since there is already a high rate of urban unemployment among the unskilled, this labor is not needed elsewhere. Higbee concludes: "Until the nation needs their land and labor, inefficient farmers may be better off where they are than if they were to head for the city's slums and welfare rolls."

Leon H. Keyserling, economist and former presidential adviser, directs a strong and persuasive argument in "Agriculture and the Public Interest," by the Conference on Economic Progress. In Keyserling's view, the attempt to justify the move from smaller family-type farms to corporate, "agribusinesses" on the basis of the efficiency of the latter fails on four counts. First, except for farms whose land is substandard, there is no lack of efficiency or of increased productivity. Second, "there is no conclusive and perhaps no respectable evidence that the large giant-size farm is more efficient than the family-type farm, when the latter receives enough income to realize its full potential." Third, even if larger farms were more efficient, that economic benefit would be taken away by the rapid shrinkage in the number of farmers (who would presumably enter the depressed unskilled labor market of urban areas). Fourth, productivity in agriculture and in the entire economy has become so great "that we need to become more deeply concerned about the quality of farm life, and not merely about the efficiency of farm production. This means that we should strive constantly for a more appropriate balance and distribution among farms of different sizes, with particular accent upon the familty-type farm . . . . The only hope for most of the substandard farmers is that they be accorded opportunity to operate family-type farms."

"Accorded opportunity." It is precisely this which present national agricultural, land, and credit policies fail to do in the cases of the South's rural poor, all Negro farmers, and marginal or substandard farmers of both races. What follows are some suggestions to accord opportunity in the rural South. Much of the South's poverty is common to all the poor, i.e., a lack of money for minimum expenses. While this lack must be made up by some new form of income maintenance, guaranteed income, or the like, there are many measures which would further alleviate problems in the rural South.

Toward Options and Opportunity in the Rural South

LAND AND CREDIT

An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the lack of land owned by Negroes and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. As cited previously, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres, and for Negroes only 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. This, in turn, of course, reflects the amount of products sold, the amount of income and all other aspects of Negro, white comparisons. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region but particularly to Negroes and poor whites for the ownership of land.

Related to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. Present USDA programs need to be much more concerned with this, particularly for the small Negro farmer, and entirely new, imaginative programs need to be developed. For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, N.C., has concluded a very successful experiment in which a relatively large plot of land was acquired and six farm families were settled on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years, this center worked closely with these families in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers are purchasing the land which they work. While small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management. We need a great many more experiments of this kind.

In regard to the foregoing two problems and opportunities, we need promptly a far more detailed study than has heretofore been done on the opportunities for relatively small farm operations. We have been going on the assumption that there was need for less and less agricultural production and that there was every economic reason for larger and fewer farm units. Both of these assumptions no longer seem correct and need to be reviewed in light of our recognition of the need for food throughout the entire world and our new encouragement of crop increases. We need, particularly, to know far more than we do at this time about the opportunities for at least partial income from the small farm unit. As this study is conducted, it must take into account the rapidly rising yields per acre and the possibilities that good farming techniques, expanding markets, and the new opportunities for truck farming produce to be sold to nearby cities may well make it possible for feasible operation of farms heretofore considered too small for profitable operation.

There is a need to change completely the base of our agriculture. The future role of southern rural people on land is to produce meat and food products for the anticipated 100 million increase in the population of the East, which will occur during the coming 30 years.

Alabama corn production—averaging 20 bushels per acre 20 years ago, increasing to 40 bushels per acre in 1966—is still an inadequate yield to compete with mid-West corn yields at 80 to 100 bushels per acre. The pork from both areas will be needed. Alabama and Mississippi food crops, vegetables and fruits, will also be needed. Their production and processing may employ southern labor and help to stop excessive migration of southern families to northern cities. This beginning, plus all the investments of capital in housing, schoolrooms, hospitals, medical and school personnel, and southern town building may create an adequate number of jobs—and a tax recovery base—to stabilize the southern rural population.

In all of this there is an assumption that efforts need to be made to devise ways for many relatively small farms to become adequate income-producing units for the families which run them. This should not, however, preclude a strong interest in determining the extent to which a small farm can provide supplementary income to some other occupation away from the farm where the two together will provide total family unit with income beyond the minimum poverty level.

Stanley Andrews in "The Farmer's Dilemma," proposes "beneficial use" land grants to younger men who want to farm for a living but *who lack land and/or capital.* This idea has merit.

HOUSING

A great need in the rural areas is adequate housing. This may be one of the simplest problems to meet if there is a national commitment to do so. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a reasonable cost. Given an adequate structure under which low interest, long-term loans can be arranged it will be possible for homeowners to meet this kind of a financial demand. The construction of such houses has the added advantages of contributing substantially to the economy of these regions, to providing jobs, and to providing training experiences. A small amount of work in this area is allowed for under Title III–B funds.

Any programs concerned with housing cannot be approached in a vacuum. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in economic development. It is also possibly a mistake to locate housing units close to present cities on the assumption owners may commute and thereby finance them. There are several projects, partly federally financed, now being discussed in Mississippi where new housing units would be placed within 10 miles of medium-sized cities on the assumption that the persons living in these new units would be able to find jobs in these towns. Given the present lack of job opportunities in the typical Deep South community, and the lack of training on the part of persons in need of housing, this may be an unsatisfactory idea.

In developing programs for housing, a minimum part of the fnuds, but considerable planning, should go into total community development. For instance, in practically every area where there is a serious need for more adequate housing there is a need also for community centers, for buildings to house day nurseries, and the like. These facilities should be developed and financed along with individual housing unit development.

INDUSTRY

Quite obviously, there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas even while we strengthen and support family farms for some. Much can be done in developing adequate housing, the small farm, and *providing outside jobs.*

Programs must be encouraged that will assure that some industry goes to the rural areas where the people now are, although caution must be exercised so that nonexploitative, long-term commitments are made. Many variations of this have been suggested but there will likely be a need for public funds to encourage such moves. In recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities, training programs for that labor must also be provided.

It goes without saying, of course, that quality industry must be brought in. At the present time, a great deal of industrial development in the rural and small town areas is of the fly-by-night type which provides an inadequate wage for the workers and nothing for the community. It is a long tradition of the Federal Government to provide funds for such items as farm mechanization. We see nothing inconsistent with these recommendations of public funds for industrial development.

The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. This is no magic formula as is frequently believed and there are limitations that should be imposed on any such program. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, i.e., industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

There are other protections which should be guaranteed by new industry. These would include guaranteed protection for labor unions, guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed working conditions on a par with those in the nation as a whole. We believe great care will have to be taken and much deliberate planning done to avoid establishing sweatshops.

Groups and agencies engaged in attracting industry must, in some way, begin to develop the ideas of less competition and more concern with the welfare of a large area. For instance, Atlanta now seeks industry without any concern for any other part of the State of Georgia. On a State, and perhaps regional, basis, there is a need for planning where industry is most needed for the good of the whole economy and not on the basis of what particular locality can offer the most attractive package to new industry.

Much needs to be done in the way of making rural areas more livable and more attractive. This is consistent with the current national policy on beautification and has in it implications for federally funded programs to employ large numbers of people and in the opportunities for developing substantial tourist and recreation business. It has recently been announced that $1,500,000 in antipoverty funds will be used in the project known as Green Thumb. This idea was developed by the outspokenly liberal National Farmers Union and that group has been chosen to run it. Many other such projects need to be developed. The Farmers Union hopes to realize from this program an expanded economy which will employ 325 or more retrained farmers. (See the Wall Street Journal, February 9, 1966.)

Any rural reclamation program should tie in directly with expansion of the recreation industry. There is now every reason to believe that this is one of our promising industries for employment for the future. Programs of reclamation and beautification should not be conducted in a vacuum but should be planned in relation to the availability of population, recreational areas that will attract tourists and the like.

In this area, great care must be taken to see that poor rural people actually benefit on a reasonable basis. This is not necessarily happening in the present Federal program in the Appalachian area. There, for instance, many small farmers (a large number of them poultry farmers) have been pushed from the land. Much of the land is going into speculation. In north Georgia, for instance, tens of thousands of acres are being bought for speculation purposes by wealthy individuals in the surrounding cities. This has hurt the small farmer and has shoved out the very kind of people who should have benefited as land values go up and new tourist possibilities open.

Reclamation or beautification and recreation should not overlook the other substantial opportunities. These would include, for instance, preserving our timber supplies and greatly expanding them on a more planned and logical basis; giving needed attention to some of the natural resources in the region, particularly mineral deposits; developing the fishing industry and related industries along the coast. Attention, for instance, should be given to the oyster beds along the coast of South Carolina. The Southern Regional Council is now attempting to get Federal assistance for this purpose for a group of persons in South Carolina who earn a seasonal income from the oyster beds.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

There is substantial employment and economic potential in this area for the first time. In the past, a limited amount of work has been done in improving the skills of persons engaged in arts and crafts and finding a market for their products. Much of this has been done in the Appalachian area, and in the Black Belt. This field offers a real potential if it is properly assisted and developed. Research is needed on what has been done and what is possible, and on the problems of quality control, marketing, and distribution.

If there is real potential for substantial employment here it will require considerable assistance. One thing needed is training. We have found many instances where there are commendable basic skills but still need for some training, particularly on quality control. Marketing, of course, is the other important area. At present there are only very limited marketing outlets and too much of this depends on a sympathy market.

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

There is quite clearly a need for overall planning in attacking social and economic problems of the rural South; one cannot attack these problems in isolation. We must have State and regional planning in the coordination of a number of efforts if rural progress is to be achieved.

Present reluctance to put funds into private agencies should be changed. Many groups are coming forward and asking for money to develop programs. This should be encouraged. Those who supply funds to such groups must be prepared for failures. We will have many failures if we embark on truly experimental programs. It should be realized too, that some of these programs will be unorthodox, indeed radical. We should welcome this. Many of the ideas being developed around the region are radical in nature and will never be tried out successfully if we go through the conventional channels, the conventional local leadership, local agencies, and regular structure of the Federal Government. Above all else, we should realize that to restore the rural areas of the region and to allow the people to remain in these areas under adequate circumstances will require truly radical changes, and anyone who brings forward a program that offers any opportunity of help in this regard should be encouraged and financed.

The Southern Regional Council has a strong interest in this whole problem. We would be happy to offer our resources in research, and the information we are now gathering under our community organization project to any persons, either public or private, who might wish to take advantage of them.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ISAAC K. BECKES, PRESIDENT, VINCENNES UNIVERSITY JUNIOR COLLEGE, INDIANA

PERTINENT FACETS OF RURAL POVERTY

One of the distinguishing characteristics of hidden rural poverty is the low visibility of its location. It is not concentrated in pockets, but is widely distributed over a scattered area. What might be found in an 8-, 10-, or 12-block area in an urban setting might be found in like measure, population- and percentage-wise, in a rural area of 500, 600, or even 900 square miles.

While the percentage of poverty may be high in any given area, it is often located among middle-class neighbors, which tends to conceal its existence. Pride and integrity are more noticeable in this group and causes them to be more reticent in taking part in Office of Economic Opportunity activities. Often they do not think of themselves as being in the "poverty group" but just as "relatively poor" because they move and circulate in a middle-class environment. However, the tendency in this group is to move lower in the scale instead of up.

Consequently, the visualization of poverty is more difficult in rural areas. In southern Indiana there is a great amount of marginal and submarginal agricultural resources. Very few are in the affluent society. The gap between poverty and low middle class is very slight. The poverty line may run between neighbors, friends, and even relatives in a single neighborhood. Crawford County in Indiana has 45 percent of the families below $3,000 income.

Mobility of the rural poor is much restricted. In any rural project, transportation becomes an expensive cost.

In any compendium of population by age, we find the major part of members of the poverty group in the extremes—youth and old age. In one county in western Indiana, which ranks 88th in the economic scale of Indiana, the rural poor are predominately in the senior group. This group's mobility is greatly restricted by at least one of the following problems:

(a) Do not possess a car.
(b) Cannot get a driver's license.
(c) Cannot afford the expense of keeping up the car they have.
(d) Have to depend on friends and/or family, usually at their convenience.
(e) No public transportation in any form.

Consequently, any project rests on furnishing means to get to the service area or bringing the service directly to the poverty group. Often, trailer units only partially solve the problem because what seems walking distance to us is prohibitive to them.

In the same county mentioned above, there are few jobs in the home community. Those they do have are mostly service jobs. Lumbering as an industry has vanished. Strip mines have come and gone, leaving large areas of barren land in a formerly profitable agricultural area. No new factories of any consequence have moved in because labor supply is not suitable for their purposes. This gives two alternatives: either move to the job, as many have done; or commute to the job from their present home. In either case, the home community loses what it can ill afford to give up: leadership, skills, craftsmanship, community spirit, initiative, originality, and even courage and vision. In the case of the senior citizen, retraining for new jobs or even new industry would not be a solution. The type of services which they need, such as health care, home visitation, home care, housing, companionship, and personal interest and attention, become expensive because of the time and distance factors involved in any rural project.

The type of projects become different from those found in urban-oriented thinking and acting. On-the-job training in rural areas involves practical application of scientific techniques and knowledge in individual situations. It involves educational training techniques, not mere manipulative skills. It involves capital investment; and it involves long periods of supervision and guidance, which might extend over several years.

Another phase of rural projects demands capitalization of private enterprises, such as cabinet shops, repair shops, stores, service centers, on single or partnership basis.

At best, we can only hope to create those rural projects which add to the income of the individual in the place where he now is and in the capacity he already has, which may be such skills as money management, technical farming skills, and mechanical skills. Knowledge to improve productive rural techniques has altogether different approaches, application, and organization than a strictly urban project. Many areas of endeavor in which the urban components have had greatest impact are not applicable to the rural area and would fail.

More originality, more imagination, more information, a larger sphere of activity, and more leniency of guidelines are necessary to write quality programs in rural areas if they are to have impact on the poverty problems.

The rural youth is also handicapped because in order to find opportunity he has to go to a strange environment in a land foreign to his horizon. His only salvation is to migrate to large economic centers where a highly competitive labor market becomes a morass to him. In southern Indiana, with exception of a few pockets of economic activity, the rural youth lives in an environment in many aspects behind the times and apart from the mainstream of our social order. What he needs is a program that will find his capabilities, create initiative and drive, build up his basic knowledge, and inform him about the world in which he will find his opportunities and spend his future. This program can be capped by training in a skill to match his capabilities or by guidance in professional fields which call for advanced academic training.

This will guarantee easing the transitional period, give proper guidance, and provide hope and help for the future.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY RICHARD R. DODGE, DIRECTOR, MENOMINEE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, KESHENA, WIS.

The case for Menominee County rests on the fact that upon termination the county was left with a level of sanitary facilities, and health, education, and welfare services below the level of any county in the State. The burden has been taken up by the State of Wisconsin and by the people of Menominee County, but they have not been able to solve the deep-seated inadequacies reflected in these figures:

Size	acres	234,000
Population		3,200
Per capita income		$586
Unemployment (State under 3.7 percent)	percent	18.1
Receiving welfare (State under 2.5 percent)	percent	15.8
Infant mortality (3 times State average)	deaths per 1,000 births	63.1
Dental health, of those age 5 to 19 needing care	percent	93.5
Tuberculosis, of adult population on drug therapy	percent	33.0
TB cost per person in Wisconsin		$1.10
TB cost per person in county		$23.82

(Menominee County's cost of TB hospitalization is $65,000 annually. If the incidence for the rest of the State were the same as Menominee County, the State TB costs would exceed $100 million per year.

There is no doctor, no hospital, no dentist, no drugstore in the county.

Water and sewer connections are not complete in Keshena and Neopit, the county's two communities.

Of approximately 500 homes, there are more than 275 using outdoor toilet facilities.

The county has only one struggling industry, a lumber mill to bear the exceptionally heavy tax burden to maintain the minimal health, education, and welfare services.

In 1962, Congress appropriated $660,000 to help with the county's contributions to school district No. 8, and $438,000 for sanitation facilities to ease the transition problems. The amount appropriated for completing sanitation facilities was only half enough.

The State of Wisconsin has been generous with personnel, guidance, and financial assistance where permitted by State law, but it cannot meet the full needs of the Menominee people.

List of accomplishments over the last 3 years, with the aid of the CAP, county board, other local interests, State and Federal aids:

Size	acres	234,000
Population		2,606
(indicates shift to urban areas)		
Per capita income		$792
Unemployment	percent	7
(Nelson amendment beautification and State highway appropriations)		
Welfare	percent	16.5
Segment of population formerly neglected		
Infant mortality rate	percent	20
Dental health	percent	93.5
Dental program now in existence		

Many of these programs are of short duration and will one day come to an end.

There are many Federal programs available to rural areas, but they lack the know-how and sophistication to go out and get these programs funded. Most Federal programs require 20 percent or 35 percent local contribution, which poverty areas are unable to meet. The CAP has been effective in processing Federal applications for water and sewer, community centers, and a large cooperative, mercantile store in Menominee County.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY LOWER CHATTAHOOCHEE VALLEY AREA (GA.) PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION (OEO)

POVERTY PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS

We know, of course, that we do not have a "cure" for poverty, but we feel that we have made a great deal of progress in taking the sting out of it. We are happy to say that this has been done through the coordinated efforts of our community action groups, health departments, commissioners, school systems, and other civic public agencies and through our trained home service aids.

Apathy

For people who have for years conditioned themselves to living under adverse conditions, it is very difficult to adjust to change.

Visits and followup visits have been made by the aids and staff in order to create motivation and self-confidence. This has been done tactfully. Since the aids have been selected from the groups served, we have been fairly successful in breaking the communication barrier.

Overcrowded Conditions

Few, if any, homes are large enough to accommodate the number of people housed in them. Thus, they are forced to dress, undress, bathe, and sleep with total disregard to sex of family members.

This has been another instance where the aids have played a fine part in diplomatically stressing the fallacy of disregard of established conventions. They have passed on information concerning family planning and utilizing space. Sex has always been a touchy subject and must be handled delicately, especially with people who are undisciplined in this area.

Sanitation

This has been one of the major issues. There is an inadequate water supply which makes it difficult to keep clean bodies and houses. Homes are not equipped with bathrooms, and outhouses are still in use.

We are teaching these families the rudiments of sterilization, better housekeeping habits and how to make the most of the available necessities.

Education

We find that most adults in the rural areas are uneducated, a large number of them having had no formal training whatsoever. This stems from lack of incentive and the fact that compulsory school attendance did not come into existence until some years ago. There is poor attendance among the children because of lack of proper clothing and poor transportation.

The community action groups have been instrumental in motivating adults to attend basic literacy classes. Our summer Headstart program was a blessing to the children who qualified for participation since it provided meals, toys, and books, as well as creative instruction.

Job Opportunities

There are few job opportunities. The people are not yet mobile enough to try to find jobs in the nearest cities, and since they are not qualified, it is difficult to compete with urban applicants. Transportation still remains a problem.

The high rate of unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas is due largely to the expanding mechanization of farms and subsidized agricultural programs. This has caused many agriculture day laborers and small farmers to become economically displaced because of their inability to compete on their small farms with the modern highly mechanized and capitalized large farmers of the areas.

This is a problem for which we have no remedial measure. Rural people were hired in the Headstart program during the summer months, which offered some relief. The food distribution program continues and is definitely a great help but does not solve the problem of the hundreds of other unemployed or unemployables.

Health and Medical Services

Several counties and adjoining counties do not have doctors or dentists. One county does not have a public health nurse. One county has only a part-time health nurse who comes from Columbus, Ga., to Cusseta, the county seat of Chattahoochee County. In many instances people have to travel from 25 to 35 miles to secure services of a doctor. Coupled with the fact that sanitation practices are poor, this makes them vulnerable to disease and malgrowth.

In communities where public health nurses are available, they are doing a wonderful job of teaching good health practices, first aid, and how to combat communicable diseases. The aids work in this area as they are available at all times.

Cultural Facilities

There are no cultural facilities.

Our community action groups have meetings and agenda designed to enlighten those in attendance. In time it is hoped that arts and crafts, theaters, and libraries will become a part of the various communities.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY M. D. MC KIRGAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY ACTION ORGANIZATION OF DELAWARE, MADISON, AND UNION COUNTIES, INC. (OHIO)

People living in rural areas suffer from a physical distance problem; they are simply too far away from the modern rapid pace of our highly technological society to avail themselves of its opportunities. Small communities in rural areas are still educating their youth as they were 20 or 30 years ago, seemingly not realizing that times have changed and that our youth have vastly more different educational needs than they did 20 years ago. Already strained school budgets do not allow for innovation or experimentation and the old status quo must be maintained.

Secondly, it is difficult to extend services to the poor in rural areas for a variety of reasons. Number one, of course, is the fact that the poor are scattered over a wide area and are not conspicuous as they are in large target or ghetto-type areas of the big cities, so the local populace doesn't see poverty and doesn't generate much concern. Securing local sympathy and participation in corrective programs is extremely difficult in rural communities. Poverty is not a popular subject and many persons have developed a protective glaucoma about poverty behind which they remain ignorant of other persons' problems and can feel superior and comfortable. Their best defense of course is their professed awareness of some so-and-so who is too lazy to work and who doesn't deserve to be supported by someone else. This is a valid complaint with which I personally agree, but the problem, of course, is not so simple and much is to be done if the average citizen is to become well-informed of the complex problems of poverty in our present and future society.

Air pollution and water pollution arouse little popular concern even today since few people can perceive any direct harm to themselves from air or water pollution, and society pollution will fare no better unless something is done to educate the people. The effects of large numbers of poor on our society are not obvious to the great majority of our citizens and their lack of concern is in direct proportion to their lack of knowledge.

We are faced with a gigantic task of education if we are to halt the relentless deterioration of the socioeconomic standards of our society. The usual methods of public education will not suffice; industry, education, labor, the poor, the affluent, the professional, and the religious, must all be brought together for a complete interchange to thought before all parties concerned fully understand and comprehend the problem. The problem is too big to be solved by the usual mustard plaster type of treatment; the solution must come from within.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY REV. C. E. MARTIN, SUPERVISOR, OPERATION GREEN FINGER, SHAWNEE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, KARNAK, ILL.

The Shawnee Development Council is a community action agency that represents a multicounty unit consisting of five counties—Alexander, Johnson, Massac, Pulaski and Union.

Of the 65,000 population in the five counties, 20,000 persons are below the poverty line. A survey of the five counties shows that the average income of the head of the family is $1,394.59 a year. Also in the poverty category 71 percent of the males do not have employment. As to the health conditions, 32 percent are bad; 39 percent fair, and 29 percent good. Thirty-five percent of the housing conditions is bad, 45 percent fair, and 20 percent good.

In the Green Finger Department of Shawnee Development Council—a project under the Nelson Amendment for the chronically unemployed and under-employed—over 500 men could be employed in this project alone. However, we only received a grant to employ 100 men over a period of 6 months, July-December 1966. During the month of December the work force was cut to 49 and the hours to 30 a week as a result of a delay in the new grant. Due to chronic conditions, it was better to employ less men for 30 hours a week and extend the project through the greater part of the winter months. During the winter a little income is better than no income for these families.

Over the period of 6½ months 40 men have received permanent jobs as a result of experience with Project Green Finger. Through on-the-job training, a few of the Green Finger men will receive training in about 2 months. However, age and education make the chances for many others doubtful.

Last year in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, 300 teenagers were in the out of school program. Yet over 600 more could have been reached if funds were available.

As to the farm labor, the pay is 50 cents and 75 cents an hour in most counties. In a very few cases $1 an hour is received by workers in hay fields.

A factor which will tremendously affect our area is migrants from the Southern States. In the next 2 months, 16,000 Negroes will leave Mississippi and Alabama. Thirty families come to southern Illinois each week. In southern Illinois many of these families can receive emergency relief for 3 months. However, there is a period of 3 months afterwards that they must wait to get on the regular public aid. This influx creates an additional unemployment problem in our area. In the next 52 weeks, 6,240 persons are expected in Illinois from the South. Many of these will stop in southern Illinois.

The October 1966 public aid report for southern Illinois showed that 1,647 were on old age assistance; 3,799 dependent children; 78 blind; 571 disabled; and 1,497 on general assistance.

One effort to alleviate part of the unemployment situation is through on-the-job training. This department of the Shawnee Development Council is prepared to train 300 trainees in the next 18 months. However, this will not reach all the people who need help. There is the problem of carrying the load for other States who have persons coming into this area.

The industries of the country are not attracted to this area. Therefore, unemployment can not easily be alleviated. The job market is closed to many persons after the age of 50, especially when they are poor and untrained.

Poverty families are not aware of their legal rights. The law does not explain things to the poor with great concern. Through Operation Justice, approximately 1,000 have benefited. Around 550 were of the minority group. Over 3,000 persons could use the benefits, but our facilities are limited.

At present the following programs are working on the problems of our area:

(1) Green Finger
(2) Neighborhood Youth Corps
(3) Operation Justice
(4) Headstart
(5) On-the-Job Training.

Other programs sponsored through Shawnee Development Council are:

(1) Shawnee Benefit Fund
(2) Killer (Rat-Mice-Roaches)
(3) Job Corps Recruitment
(4) Medicare Alert
(5) Meat and Vegetables—Self-Help
(6) Farmers Home Administration (Loans)
(7) Shawnee Volunteers

In an area where two of the poorest counties in the United States are found and three other counties have a large number of poverty families, it is a tremendous job to hold our own without government help. The next big problem is the influx from other States. To meet this need, more funds from the government must come to create work programs for the poor. Our area already has over 50 percent of the minority group in the poverty category.

We, along with many others have had a cut in our funds. This raises the unemployment in our area instead of helping the situation. Help is needed now. Not a year from now. Thousands are living in the area with hundreds coming in every week. We are trying to do our part in reaching the poor whatever their racial identity happens to be. But the Federal funds are needed now to alleviate many labor problems.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY JOE E. MAYNARD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN KENTUCKY AREA DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, INC., BOWLING GREEN, KY.

Evidence abounds concerning the limitations of social services for the Other America. Services are insufficient, inappropriate, fragmented, and not suited to the style of the poor and particularly the minority poor. Some of the services even assist the recipients and their families to remain within the cycle of poverty.

The reading texts used in classrooms typically contain material far less attuned to the interests of the disadvantaged. Minority groups are typically underrepresented in all curricula materials. The inappropriateness of standard intelligence tests has long been noted. Historically, school psychologists and guidance counselors frequently underestimate the minority-group youngster's ability.

Finally, and most important perhaps, the inadequacy of service has not been corrected by the involvement of the poor in even the most indirect ways with regard to the nature of the services. The poor have no voice, no representation, and consequently, little interest; they have no decision-making power, no control over the services that have been offered to them. They have been expected to be thankful, appreciative consumers.

The concepts of democratic representation have not been extended to the service market. Public housing tenants do not participate with regard to the rules of their occupancy. Welfare clients have no say with regard to welfare procedures. There are no clients' forums to tell caseworkers what services are needed and how they should be dispensed to the poor.

It is no wonder, then, that even when services are available, they are underutilized. The poor have refused to return for weekly appointments with social workers; they have been uncooperative with the Welfare Department.

They have been less than enthusiastic about training programs where they are no jobs at the end of the rainbow, or at best, dead-end jobs; they have been unattracted to diagnostic and evaluative services where treatment is difficult to obtain; they have been unenthusiastic about public housing; they have not voted in proportion to their numbers; in extreme, they have rioted. The essential power of the poor has been the power of the veto; to refuse to use services, and this resistance is often portrayed as apathy.

Their unwillingness to accept fully the expanding market of services, to avail themselves of the increased opportunities, has led to the interpretation that they are apathetic, that they possess a culture of poverty and a family pattern which must be altered if they are to be brought into the opportunity structure of the society. Rather than consider modifying the services and institutions to suit the needs of the populace, there has been an ever-growing assumption that we ought to modify the poor to suit the services and opportunities as offered.

In response to the deficiencies of the service system, the poor have developed their own informal systems and traditions in order to cope and survive. Storefront churches, cellar clubs, the extended family, the use of the street as a playground, the block party, the mutual assistance of siblings, music constructed from pots and pans, the informal know-how and self-help system of the neighborhood, the use of peer learning, street language, hip slang, etc., the rent strike, and other forms of direct social action and protest, are just a few illustrations of these forms of adaptation. We have much to learn from these adaptations of the poor and, as we shall see, the new programing of the antipoverty movement is in part building on many of the traditions, styles, and methods of the poor. It is through utilizing these traditions and culture, if you will, that the strengths of the poor can be transformed into the power of the poor.

It is through an understanding of these strengths and potential contributions of the poor that we can really establish a meaningful relationship with them. It is not through an emphasis on pathology, deficit or the supposed nonadaptive culture of poverty. These foci will lead us to attack the victims of the system rather than the system itself.

The Job Corps does not prepare youngsters for the new developing nonprofessional careers. Preschool programs attempt to prepare children for the presently inadequate educational system. The emphasis in this first design is not on changing institutions or structures, but rather changing people to fit into the existing structures.

Only through the utilization of these traditions can the poor be genuinely brought into the mainstream of our society and, not incidentally, can our society benefit enormously from incorporation of some of these traditions. Thus, it is the poor who are basically challenging our educational system and producing the demand for changes in educational technology and organization that will be of benefit to all, disadvantaged and advantaged. It is the minority groups who are leading the way in the removal of discrimination and prejudice in our country so that we can hold our heads up high and be truly democratic, egalitarian Americans. It is the poor whose need for decentralized, reachable, humane, informal service has led the way to the development of a community mental health approach, the humanity of which will benefit all and help to counteract the bureaucratizing trends in the society. The preference of the poor for informality of style in recreation, entertainment, and dress has had a pervasive effect on the youth and the language of the society. Yes, we need the poor in the system, and we need a much more direct line to what the poor can offer the system.

A new dimension in the new antipoverty programing is the emphasis on providing a new manpower; namely, indigenous nonprofessionals drawn from the community of the poor itself to be employed as teacher aids, health aids, research aids, counsellor aids, housing aids, and the like. The new manpower can provide a vast new supply of assistance to the institutions attempting to deliver service to the poor. Moreover, those nonprofessionals may possess considerable knowledge and understanding about the poor which will make the services more appropriate, meaningful, and increase the likelihood of their use. The nonprofessional legitimates the service to the poor and brings into the system the needs and desires of the poor. Furthermore, the new manpower, the new nonprofessionals, can function to integrate and expedite the delivery of services. Traditionally, the implication existed that if the consumer were educated about the service and then referred to the relevant agency, he would go on to use the service appropriately and effectively. But in the light of the fragmented services and their inadequacy and inappropriateness, this assumption did not function in practice. In operation, the poor consumer never got there, or if he got there, he was referred elsewhere and didn't get there and didn't return. The nonprofessional expediter, however, can escort the client to the appropriate service and intervene for him, speak for him, translate for him, baby-sit so that he can get there, make sure that the service is delivered. In other words, the nonprofessional expediter can serve as the cement in an uncoordinated system, bringing together the various parts and insuring service delivery.

Another antipoverty trend introduces the concept of the consumer as the participant. It sees the poor as having a voice in the development and execution of services for the poor. In the Great Society the elimination of poverty requires more than bringing up a particular group to a minimum level of income assets and public services. It requires attention to the achievement of new rights of political and social inclusion. For the poor are the excluded, not only excluded from economic affluence but from the new possibilities of the society in other dimensions as well. This inclusion must include political effectiveness and self-determination; psychological inclusion (autonomy) the reduction of powerlessness and alienation; social inclusion, changing the patterns of social difference and deference, the diminution of stigma, the acceptance of diversity. The willingness to recognize that those at the bottom are not necessarily limited individuals is significant in the development of new forms of inclusion in the affluent society as it attempts to become a Great Society.

A most significant, not fully explicit dimension of the developing antipoverty ideology is the attempt to unify self-help approaches developing outside the formal system with the best systematic professional knowledge available within the formal systems. Thus, the use of storefronts, nonprofessionals, self-help appeals, social action approaches are all designed to utilize the best of the traditions and forms that have emerged outside the professional system.

The antipoverty movement represents the possibility of a new high level of integration of the best in the informal systems combined with the most advanced in the professional systems. Thus in the neighborhood service-center programs that are evolving throughout the nation, nonprofessionals are being used in large numbers together with professional supervisors, trainers, psychologists, social workers, and the like.

The antipoverty legislation thus provides significant new trends in its emphasis on participation by the poor, a new unity of service of nonprofessional and professional, new manpower oriented toward integrating the fragmented services system, at the same time maintaining the autonomy of the individual service structures. For the first time the self-help power of the poor is beginning to be brought into the system. To be fully meaningful the self-help concept must be based on an understanding of its roots—strengths of the poor.

The antipoverty emphasis on the use of storefronts, neighborhood service centers, indigenous nonprofessionals, community action approaches, peer helpers, etc., is in this direction and needs to be consciously extended. It is only through full recognition and utilization of these strengths that welfarism can be avoided. Because if the have-nots have nothing, no culture, no strength, no anger, no organization, no cooperativeness, no inventiveness, no vitality—if they are only depressed, apathetic, fatalistic, and pathological—then where is the force for their own self-help to come from? It follows that they must be helped from above, from outside. A patronizing dole is called for if the deficits are stressed. Deficits can be overcome if strengths are emphasized first. It is important to lead from strength and to attempt to correct deficiencies by utilizing strengths.

Make public institutions more responsive to the poor and to members of minority groups by introducing into the chain of communications—between the servers and the served individuals—those who can speak to and interpret for both groups.

Introduce relatively large numbers of minority group members into visible, nonmenial employment in schools, social agencies and civil service, and thereby hopefully ameliorate hostility born in the knowledge of exclusion.

Provide jobs for poor people in the public sector, the fastest growing segment of the economy and the one area in which prospects are bright for long-range and continuing growth.

Make it possible for professionals to concentrate on professional tasks by giving them aids to whom they can delegate nonprofessional aspects of their work.

Make the work of professionals more challenging and rewarding by introducing the new element of training responsibility into their daily work.

Democratize the professions by making them more responsive to the needs of the whole population and by giving the practitioners a real voice in the maintenance of standards and the selection of colleagues.

Provide the professions with the desperately needed manpower without which they will not be able to meet demand in the coming decades.

But of equal importance would be the immediate gain of opening new opportunities to the poor, especially Negroes and other minorities. In maintaining the current rigid system, each day we give fresh evidence of our inability or unwillingness to open our society to Negroes and members of other minority groups, for many of whom alienation begins in early childhood. At the present rate of entry into the American mainstream, centuries will pass before Negroes and Latin Americans are placed in the professions in numbers proportionate to the population percentages.

New careers provide an opportunity for opening up the system. Those relatively unequal at one point in history will be given the opportunity to enter the emerging industries (health, education, and welfare) which will be principal employers of supervisors or the advanced workers in these industries. Those disadvantaged in the next decade, if given the opportunity to come in on the ground floor of new employment opportunities, can similarly attain relative advantages a decade later. In the new careers concept the stress is upon the creation of jobs in sufficient numbers to eliminate unemployment, thereby establishing a base for securing greater cooperation and coordination between all income persons, be they Negro or white.

The many nonprofessional jobs created through funding by the Office of Economic Opportunity can contribute to the reduction of unemployment, particularly among minority groups. Five hundred thousand such jobs could be created (and necessary supervision and training be provided) for approximately $2½ billion. When compared to the costs of poverty and its related effects (delinquency, crime, inadequate health, welfare, expenditures, etc.) this is not a large sum. One can think of no better way to invest the newly found unanticipated billions in income tax revenue or the expected increase in revenues expected over the next 5 years.

The neighborhoods of the poor are greatly in need of increased police protection and greater insurance of safety. Large numbers of police aids recruited from the neighborhood population would be of great value.

The badly overworked Welfare Department could utilize vast numbers of nonprofessional aids. The tremendous shortage of school personnel predicted for the next decade might be drastically reduced through the employment of nonprofessionals in the schools. These nonprofessionals, especially males, drawn from the ranks of the poor would serve as excellent role models for the disadvantaged youngsters in the schools; the youngsters would see that it is possible that people like themselves, drawn from their own neighborhood can "make it" in the system. In addition, teachers would be freed from the many nonprofessional tasks they now perform.

If the nonprofessional movement is to grow, if the opportunity structure is to be opened up so that jobs can become careers and aids can rise to become ultimately professionals, major institutional changes will have to be considered: Civil service requirements will have to be altered, educational institutions will have to be developed from among both professionals and subprofessionals.

The Job Corps has not been utilized for the development of training for nonprofessionals or their trainers. If the nonprofessional revolution is to create more than jobs, if it is to develop genuine careers for the poor, moving them up the ladder, step by step, authentic training is the key. Trainers must be trained in how to evaluate nonprofessionals; how to encourage participation; how to listen; how to supervise in new ways; how to provide functional on-the-job learning.

The traditional principle that long periods of training are necessary before an individual can be employed, must be reversed; the motto should be "Jobs First—Training Built In." Nonprofessional human service positions can begin with on-the-job training. Nonprofessionals learn essentially from doing plus systematic in-service training which can be phased-in functionally as needed on the job.

The point is that training must be introduced functionally, on the job itself. The demand for long periods of training before the individual can even apply for a position is not adapted to the needs of the poor, the dropout, the delinquent functioning in a future world that has been unsure and in a school environment that has been unencouraging. The best way to educate many school dropouts is not to send them back to school immediately, but to provide them with nonprofessional human service jobs. This will provide the stimulus for obtaining the necessary education on the job and returning to the educational structures where appropriate and needed. Basic education and skills that are badly needed by nonprofessionals (and all of the poor) should not be seen merely as remedial. Every effort should be made to cast them not as rehabilitation but habilitation. The assumption should be that people can be basically habilitated and developed at any time.

The basic slogan must be: "No service without representation." The participation and voice of the poor should spread to all the service areas—housing, welfare, recreation, and health. The poor should have a voice in the rapidly evolving community mental health centers. Representation is only one way of involving the poor and other ways should be sought.

Another way of involving the poor is by having them "surveyed" with regard to their reactions to public housing, welfare, education, etc., and by using their responses as guidelines for policy changes in these areas. This could be done in many systems where the poor are served (welfare, for example) and could function to provide the poor with citizen or constituent power in systems in which they are typically powerless.

The storefront neighborhood service center is a basic unit in the antipoverty war. While the large multiservice centers employing hundreds of nonprofessionals is the rule in the community action programs, smaller storefront centers should be developed as extensions of the large multiservice center. These local centers provide an excellent base for participation by the community. They are easily reached; they are manned or staffed by local residents, indigenous nonprofessionals; their atmosphere is informal; they are on home grounds, local turf, so to speak. It is here that clients are transformed into helpers and active citizens. The entire atmosphere of the centers encourages neighborhood volunteers and participants to assist in providing help in problem-solving service. They are really grass roots.

Representation of the poor can be meaningfully extended to actual participation. Here the issue is not merely representation and influence, but the value of direct participation at small group meetings, committees, and neighborhood forums. Moreover, all the clients of the centers should have the possibility of becoming neighborhood service-center members. This might be accomplished by the requirement that an individual attend at least two meetings and indicate his desire to participate in the organization as a member. In other words, we are not suggesting that simply because a client comes in for assistance, that he automatically become a member. This would reduce the concept of membership to meaninglessness. But any client could become a member, and membership drives might be considered at various points.

In order for the nonprofessional movement to proceed effectively, the following are required: Decent living wages so that a family can be supported by the nonprofessional breadwinner; the opportunity for the poor to become nonpoor by rising in the occupational structure through on-the-job training, education, and the like (Careers vs. Jobs); provision for the jobs and careers becoming permanent parts of the structure. They should be included in the tables of organization if the agencies agree to incorporate them in their future plans. Large numbers of nonprofessional jobs must be particularly designed for males so that the unemployed and underemployed male can take his place in the family. Opportunities for the participation of nonprofessional employees in various aspects of the decision-making process should be planned.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ROBERT MERKLE, STAFF ASSISTANT, KOSCIUSKO COUNTY, IND., RURAL ELECTRIC MEMBERSHIP CORPORATION

Kosciusko County, a prosperous agricultural and industrial county in north-central Indiana, has a population of 45,000. Its county seat is Warsaw with a greater city population of 17,000. There are 13 other towns in the county with populations from 250 to 1500.

From the late thirties to the present Appalachian peoples have migrated to this county to work in agriculture (in the earlier years) and, of late, in industries. The majority of these people came from the declining coal mining region around Prestonburg, Ky. Most of them had little more than a fourth or fifth grade education. Over the years many of them prospered and were assimilated into the native socioeconomic pattern of the area, rendering them indistinguishable in the second and third generation. However, scattered throughout the rural area are many Appalachian families maintaining a substandard existence.

In this particular county, factors other than lack of available employment would have to contribute to their lower standard of living.

A small unincorporated town by the name of Packerton of about 30 houses in ill repair became a settlement for several families. For many years families moved in and on from Packerton as they progressed in the area. For the past several years the population there, however, has been somewhat more stable. A few native Hoosiers also have inhabited Packerton over the years. The business section is adorned by a general store, a cooperative feed mill, and a sawmill.

No community organization has ever been formed in Packerton, probably because its crossroads divide it among three townships. Children congregating for school busses are picked up and transported to seven different schools daily.

Housing of the area has increased, with trailers located in the yards of the existing houses. In 1965 less than half the 45 families had water available at their homes. Only a very few had inside running water.

Early in 1965 Rev. Chad Burkhart, a minister of Appalachian origin, along with the lay people of his and two other churches, a sociology professor, two psychology instructors, the county agricultural extension department and a rural electrification project representative became interested in helping to organize and implement a community improvement program in the south half of Kosciusko county with Packerton as the initial nucleus project.

The controlling conservative element of the county indicated that funding through a CAP would not meet with general approval. The local interested group considered a program to be carried on by church-sponsored volunteers or local interested volunteers, or perhaps VISTA volunteers.

A not-for-profit corporation was formed. Only a few people from Packerton were interested in joining the effort.

Possible projects which were listed were: Wells; inside plumbing; better housing; nursery (3- to 5-year-olds); schools; tutoring program; adult home-making clubs; 4-H clubs; playground; home management counseling; health program; small community building; summer recreation program; crafts program; and a clean-up and beautification program.

In order to get started it was decided to obtain a young man and woman to conduct a summer recreation and crafts program. Two college students were engaged on an "earn and serve" program as is standard in the Church of the Brethren. A recreation area was obtained and the young students had local employment during the day and spent the evening hours conducting the program with the children of the area. They served during their summer vacation.

It was evident that if any progress was to be made that a full-time couple would be required. An application to VISTA was made. Mrs. Wolfe visited from Washington.

In late August Kelsey and Clara Garland (both of southern origin) were assigned. They were about 50 years of age, and had the experience and training to give impetus and encouragement to a promising foetal program. Success has exceeded expectation. Accomplishments were made in many of the areas mentioned. The small community building is being completed and interest grows steadily in the target population. A nursery school is in daily operation and youth and adult clubs are gradually being formed.

Recently another VISTA couple has been assigned and they are concentrating on tutoring in cooperation with the schools.

Here are some pertinent things involved in a program of this type situation:

Poor people are proud, have many status groups, are independent, do not want gifts, do not usually want help, but only encouragement, and some work-along-with time, so they can learn; like to contribute; will listen to reason, if one is patient; do like to have a voice in all things; have a strong tendency to quit (at first) if they can't have their own way; and respect men in preference to women as general leaders from outside groups.

Local people must not expect expressions of appreciation for what they do. And ought not to be discouraged by lack of such expression.

Local interested people must first learn that the initial job is to obtain the confidence of the people of the target population. Some people seem not to be able to acquire this readily. Their role can only be to help the ones who have obtained this confidence.

The next job is to "inspire a desire" for change.

Then it is time to help and to show on a cautious basis. Being asked is an indication of progress.

Once a little progress is made and a little publicity given, citizens seem eager to help. They come from far and near. All seem sincere—some are overly curious.

A successful program absolutely needs two or three local people who would rather work at this sort of thing than either eat or sleep. This effort was blessed with such a person in a lady school teacher and counselor.

A good county agent and home demonstration agent are indispensable to success.

We had no CAP. We had to raise all the money by solicitation. People are interested in VISTA and like to hear the volunteers talk. Civic organizations and business firms make contributions generously for projects. Initially this is a fairly good method, except that some volunteers might not have the ability to skillfully solicit such help. If VISTA volunteers could have perhaps $1,000 to $2,000 a year, where no CAP is formed, they could do much to speed up their effectiveness.

VISTA is a very valuable program. Progress in Packerton has been greater the past 6 months than in the past 30 years. Until this year one or two Christmas trees could be seen as one drove through the streets. This year there were 35 trees sparkling through windows announcing the spirit of the Yuletide.

VISTA needs to solicit good people all over our nation. The one who can and doesn't give is really missing as much as the one who doesn't have the opportunity to receive. I recommend an intensive solicitation program.

Good training is highly essential. Short on-the-job training should precede the assignment.

Obtaining target population participation may be very slow and difficult. At times one almost gives up. Patience and persistence usually will cause a spring to bubble up sooner or later.

"Credit-for-good-works" seekers have no place in the program as helpers.

I am convinced that little headway can be made over the long pull unless full-time volunteers are available.

VISTA must exist on a permanent basis. The job is roughly a 15-year proposition—not a 2- or 3-year task.

VISTA work can definitely give new life to the volunteer and can very easily be the most important work they have ever done.

Financing by donations initially is not really so not really so difficult, but soon the project should have some source of funds on a regular basis. We have not yet been able to convince our United Fund in the county that we should be allotted $2,000 per year from their $110,000 collection. We hope to be able to be more convincing at future meetings.

VISTA work in a concentrated community such as Packerton can result in an enlivened community spirit and be an inspiring success. Progress among as many families living in the scattered rural houses presents a more difficult problem. Work among these people may have to take on the nature of the calling nurse or social worker. Perhaps the VISTA worker, the county extension department, and a friendly neighbor volunteer could comprise a trio to good advantage.

In the same type program slow pupils in schools could be helped by the friendly neighbor who would learn to tutor. Helping a fellow student should be as fulfilling as making the basketball team or the debate team.

The VISTA program is valuable and needs a good selling. We have had interested citizens visit the Packerton meetings from as far away as 50 miles. Many communities need this program. They just need to be pushed off the diving board and get to swimming.

The nursery school for 3- to 5-year-olds sustained over a period of 15 years is the real heart of the program. Here is where permanent change is made.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY T. E. PATTERSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, ARKANSAS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

FALLACIES IN THE PL 89-10, TITLE I PROGRAMS, AS THEY RELATE TO THE RURAL SCHOOLS OF ARKANSAS

Insofar as the poverty people are concerned the only aspect of the Title I programs that they are knowledgeable about is the free lunch and personal services. The instructional program, statewide, is not concentrated or geared to the educationally and culturally deprived, rather it is developed and administered systemwide, therefore failing to provide ample personnel and programs for the deprived to close the gap between them and the general school population.

A typical example of the 89–10 program in a rural school system is as follows:

Chidester school district has two schools, Pleasant Hill, a Negro high school and Chidester High School, a white school. Both have grades 1 to 12.

	Chidester High School (white)	*Pleasant Hill High School (Negro)*	*Total, District*
Enrollment	118	262	380
Percent of disadvantage youth	20%	37%	32%
Personnel assignments	21	1	22
Business education teachers	9	0	9
Remedial, language, art teachers	5	1	6
Janitor	2	0	2
Library assistant	4	0	4
Administration	1	0	1

All program planning is done by and in the white school, with little or no program provided for the Negro students. The Negro students did receive free lunches, which was the primary service they derived from an $18,700 budget.

Recommendations:

(1) The establishment of an education agency by HEW staffed with personnel familiar with the Arkansas schools for the purpose of strengthening the implementation of 89–10 programs; or

(2) Requesting the State Department to approve or disapprove projects on the basis of implementation and practice as well as signing compliance forms 441 or 441–b.

Unless something is done to guide the school districts in Arkansas to develop programs for the deprived they will continue to use the funds for the general improvement of their school districts and the gap between the achievement of the culturally deprived and the general school population will not be closed at all.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY REV. THARNELL SNOW, NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

We have undisputed proof that our country is the richest and the strongest in the entire world. Our storehouses are full, our reserves are plentiful, our lands productive, and our resources abundant. We are enjoying the most prosperous era in the history of our nation.

Yet in our midst, we have a germ known as poverty, eating away at the very roots of our social structure.

Poverty is more deadly than cancer, more destructive than wars. It causes crime, misery, ignorance, illegitimacy, prostitution; and it causes one to live in a close relationship with disease and death. We must make war on poverty because poverty has already declared war on us. We must rid our nation of poverty because we cannot risk the danger of letting poverty live.

We cannot successfully fight rural poverty until we first know what events led to its existence and who is responsible for its growth.

Therefore, we must try to list some of the common causes of rural poverty:

Systematic robbing of the poor by the rich; disfranchisement of individual rights by local government; consistent cheating of the tenants by the landlord; unfair wages paid for services; unjust working conditions; modern inventions; the lack of education; and basic skills needed to compete equally with others in an ever-changing society.

Somewhere this picture of rural poverty must begin fundamentally to change. This can be done by instituting great training programs. Fair employment practices must be enforced, minimum wage laws enacted, public housing made available, better educational opportunities offered, more jobs provided with pay similar to urban standards and a health program strong enough to be within the reach of all our citizens.

Government handouts alone cannot rid our country of poverty.

We will need the help of God, and his guidance. We also must have help from the dedicated caseworker, the Government agents, the enlightened employers, the family counselors, the entrepreneurs of economic uplifting, and the church. The greatest help must come from the area itself, because no one can truly justify asking for help from others until he has first tried to help himself.

To rid our country of poverty will not take a lifetime; neither will it go away in a day. There is no magic potion in our hands, but through hard work, and faith in our society, lies the answer to our country's problem.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY SOUTH CENTRAL (MINN.) COMMUNITY ACTION COUNCIL

RURAL PROBLEMS TO BE PROBED AT TUCSON, MEMPHIS, WASHINGTON HEARINGS

Our council is a newly formed council and became staffed on March 1, 1966. Our council represents about 75,000 people in a four-county area. Our first obstacle was to meet the deadline on Headstart by March 31, 1966, with an inexperienced staff and people that were totally uninformed on the Headstart program. The result was that we were only able to secure approximately 40 students in two different centers. With the comprehensive evaluations that we secured from the parents and the educators, we are now writing up a program for 1967 that will encumber some 215 students. The biggest obstacle that we have in rural America is having the people that are in education, welfare, etc., recognize that there is a problem of poverty in rural America.

We conducted surveys in four of our county-seat areas on housing situations for the elderly. Two communities have already held their public meetings, as a result of the surveys, and are setting up their housing authorities to go ahead and provide adequate and reasonable housing for the elderly in their respective communities. These surveys have resulted in revealing many inadequacies that the communities were not aware of.

We find that programs that involve the elderly persons are a field that rural America really is in need of. Many of our senior citizens are living on less than $1,000 per couple per year and live on a real meager nutritional base as well as a very inadequate housing. I can truthfully say that the staff and myself are amazed at the tremendous amount of potential that we have put away in the rocking chair in many parts of our rural America.

We also submitted the program "Summer Jobs for Delinquent and Low Income Youth" but this program was not funded. We then submitted a program for the mentally retarded, noneducable group and it was funded the latter part of July and the school opened in September. This program was developed through the cooperation of the local Welfare Departments and we have employed low income people. ADC mothers have been the prime source of the aids, and what has been accomplished in a few short months of operation has astounded even the professional people that are related to the mentally retarded field. These people were called upon to volunteer their time in the training of the low income persons. We are amazed at the accomplishments that have been gained through working with the low income persons as well as the enrollees that were involved. Two to three of the ADC mothers have reflected an opinion that when they felt they were capable, they would be applying for jobs in some of our State institutions that would and can pay more money than we budgeted for under our program. The motivation and interest that was being developed in the short 4 or 5 months has been gratifying and also we feel has done the job to make these people part of our society.

We are in the process of organizing two rural co-ops that would not only upgrade the income of our low income farmers but also would provide employment for many of our former farmworkers that have moved to one of our smaller towns. Many have years of productive life left and have no place to exercise them.

With poverty incidence scattered so far over a large geographic area, it is very easy for these people to be lost in the shuffle or out in the woods. Upgrading their education and their motivation, and putting them back into a productive area is going to be a job that will not be accomplished in 1 or 2 years' time. Many of them have been bounced from one agency to another and would rather stay hidden away than expose themselves to more criticism as well as the problems of everyday life.

We submitted the Nelson Amendment program last July which did not get funded, and we had people from various local governmental units involved where they would employ these people after they would learn work habits. They would also be trained on the job for specialized types of work that many of our communities need. Providing a meager salary for them to exist on was secondary but trying to promote and motivate these people was a chief aim of the package we submitted. We feel that many of these people can be recovered and can be a part of our overall communities if they are given a chance and some understanding as well as guidance. Too often in the past, we have been providing the bread without any leadership and the result is many of them just sit and waste away.

We feel that many of our Youth are leaving the soil to go to many of our cities rather than go into farming due to the lack of necessary credit facilities, and also the lack of people in the financial world to understand that they cannot start up in farming on the same basis as they did a few years back. Modern farming takes credit, know-how, and a continuous upgrading of methods to remain competitive and profitable in that business. With average ages of 57 years in many of our four-county areas, it behooves us to take a sound look at encouraging our Youth to take over many of our farming enterprises. We must come up with some solutions if we are to feed, not only our country, but also in trying to feed the world.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY LEE W. TAYLOR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ROUGH RIVER AREA COUNCIL, COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY, BRECKINRIDGE AND GRAYSON COUNTIES, KY.

Members of the Commission, may I begin by expressing my appreciation for the opportunity to submit testimony on the question of rural poverty. During the 2 years I have served as a rural area community action program director and during the 25 years I served as a foreign correspondent and newspaper editor, I have found far too few people who were willing to recognize the serious potentials inherent in widespread rural poverty.

I am sure all of you are familiar with the statistical data which shows that 46.5 percent of the Nation's poor live in rural areas, and that first-year funding of rural area programs was less than 5 percent, and that second-year funding of rural area programs was less than 15 percent of the total War on Poverty expenditures. I also feel sure that you are fully aware of the fact that policy level officials in Washington and regional offices of OEO have insisted on viewing the War on Poverty as a predominantly urban operation.

There is no denying that poverty in the metropolitan slums, where it is concentrated and easily contrasted, is much easier to illustrate and dramatize. Teeming ghettos, blighted blocks, and rat-infested tenements make good copy for tear-jerking news features; are a delight to the sociologic researcher and a beautiful opportunity for brightening the self-imposed halo of the missionary. It really isn't very difficult to understand why so many OEO officials, recruited from city social workers, should view poverty as an urban problem.

The all-important fact which these people overlook is that 65 percent of these big city slum dwellers migrated to the city from rural farming areas. Being unskilled, untrained, and, for the most part, uneducated farm laborers and smalltown menials, there was no other place to go when our declining agricultural economy could no longer provide them with a living wage. They don't find a solution to their economic situation in the city, but at least metropolitan welfare agencies are better staffed and more liberally funded.

There can be no doubt that the major source of poverty is our rural economy. When 17 million of our 35 million poor still reside in rural areas, and 11 million of our 18 million urban poor are farm-to-city migrants, what other conclusion can be drawn?

The question, then, is one of strategy; should the War on Poverty launch an attack on the source of poverty or be limited to skirmishes in our city streets?

A second major fallacy in OEO policy has allowed rural poverty to be dealt with through a welfare missionary approach. This viewpoint has been influenced by the Council of Southern Mountains and is based on the Council's years of experience with charitable work in the area loosely described as Appalachia.

But Appalachia is not a typical rural section if the word rural is used in its normally accepted meaning of nonurban, nonindustrial. A more accurate description of Appalachia would be nonurban industrial. Its problems are more nearly akin to those of the urban industrial areas than to the rural agricultural areas. The welfare of its people is linked more directly with problems of unemployment than with the agricultural area problems of underemployment.

In a typical farming section, nothing produces quite so violent a reaction among local officials, merchants, and middle-class or even lower income farmers as a suggestion of increased welfare payments or a new-type welfare-based program. Farm folk are naturally conservative, slow to adopt social change, and about as independent as a dead pig in the sunshine; but their antagonistic attitudes toward welfare programs are far more serious than these characteristics seemingly justify.

Welfare laws are written for urban conditions and feature such items as unemployment compensation, assistance to deserted wives and children, disability allowances, old-age assistance to those without property, and other specific situations of need. Rural people seldom have jobs in businesses with a sufficient number of employees to qualify for unemployment compensation; elderly farm people usually get minimum social security benefits; and the practice of denying assistance to a family where the husband has only part-time employment tends to make family desertion or "moonlight marriages," a welfare-sponsored violation of the rustic sense of moral responsibility.

The most severe criticism rural people level at current welfare practices is the fact that welfare recipients cannot afford to accept part-time or short-term employment, no matter how badly their services may be needed for crop harvesting or other farm operations. In spite of the fact that welfare payments are designated to meet only 75 percent of the recipient's needs for a minimum standard of living, any earnings are deducted from the welfare check. If the welfare recipient spends 3 days helping a farmer bale hay, he has, in effect, donated the 3 days' labor to the farmer even though the farmer has paid him for the labor.

In the viewpoint of rural people, welfare programs have two objectionable features: promotion of idleness and moral degeneracy, and denial to the farmer of a labor pool when it is most needed. The question of welfare and the attitudes of rural people toward welfare programs is, then, economic instead of social. Naturally, by being economic in nature, this attitude is a primary factor in obtaining cooperation of middle-class rural people in community action programs and constitutes an almost certain guarantee of noncooperation when OEO or the CAA employs a welfare-oriented approach to the program.

In far too many institutional-conducted training sessions, it has been repeatedly stressed that middle-class cooperation is not essential to the success of community action. At both the Temple University and the Appalachia Volunteers training sessions for CAP directors, instructors identified community action as an organizing effort for eventual class struggles with destruction of middle-class domination as the goal.

This, like the first policy fallacy mentioned, is an urban assumption. There is doubt that it is a valid assumption even in urban circumstances, but there is no doubt that such an approach is detrimental to the poor in rural areas. In an agricultural economy which requires $30,000 to $50,000 to begin a profitable farming operation, with an ever-increasing number of small farm owners and farmworkers being forced off the land for lack of capital, the poor can improve their lot only by obtaining cooperation of the middle class and local officialdom in programs aimed equally at econmic, educational, and social objectives.

The third major fallacy found among many high-level OEO policymakers is the belief that the War on Poverty is a part of the civil rights movement. Local CAA boards and CAP directors, especially throughout the Southern States, are harassed continuously to add Negro staff members without regard to the qualifications of these members. In far too many cases, rural CAA's are unable to find qualified Negro personnel, especially those who can do an adequate "selling" job to farm area citizens, and the result has been incompetence, insolence, and an ineffectual program.

Last summer I took a leave of absence and made a trip through the area from New Mexico to the eastern seaboard, covering all States south of the Ohio River and the northern boundaries of Missouri and Kansas. Although the purpose of the trip was to pick up ideas which might be useful in our own CAA, it became obvious near the beginning that I was destined to discover many more problems than solutions. Foremost among these problems were those imposed by some OEO officials in their effort to treat the poverty question as a racial question.

It is perfectly true that a majority of the very poor in the Southwest are of Mexican descent and in the South are Negro. It is also true that both are subjected to all of the indignities that unreasoning prejudice can exert. But if you look for causes rather than "a cause," you discover that the most intense racial bias is among white people of the same social, educational, and economic levels as the Mexican or Negro. The more affluent whites do have a restentment against "legislated social equality," but I found very little opposition to equality of opportunity or education, with the exception of those whites who are, themselves, near the same economic level as the Mexican or Negro.

The pattern was the same throughout the area visited. There were extremely few whites, other than politicians, who had both education and middle-class stability who expressed any fear of equal opportunity. There were very few whites who lacked education and middle-class stability, or either one, who did not express fear of nonwhite races or of providing nonwhites with equal opportunity.

Another pattern I observed was the close parallel between banking practices and racial prejudice. Invariably, when I visited a town where the bank was staffed predominantly with male tellers, I discovered that narrow viewpoints, racial prejudice, and general lack of social progress were the rule. The opposite seemed to hold true for those rural small towns whose banks featured predominantly female staffs. The only conclusion I could reach was that these were the communities where economic conditions offered greater opportunities to males, thus making bank tellers' wages unattractive.

The biggest factor bearing on the racial question was, however, the competition for low-paying jobs. This competition was not limited to that between the unskilled whites and nonwhites; it was also very evident among agricultural and agricultural-related employers with low-paying positions to be filled.

Although racial problems do exist and cannot be shrugged away, they are vulnerable to solutions through an economic approach. This by no means tends to discredit advances made as a result of educational efforts, but it does seem that our current approach has the cart before the horse. Educational, used here as being at the secondary level, and cultural advances will not be satisfactorily achieved by people who lack a living wage; who cannot feed, clothe and house their families adequately, or cannot find employment in the field wherein they are best qualified. The racial problem today, as it was a century ago, is primarily an economic problem and has its roots in the agricultural economy of the nation.

This discussion has intentionally been concentrated on the major policy errors which adversely affect War on Poverty efforts in rural areas. Out of them have grown a multitude of tactical errors which hamper rural CAA's, but let's turn the discussion toward specific problems.

THE ROLE OF OEO IN PROGRAM CONDUCT

Immediately after passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, in 1964, the Office of Economic Opportunity began funding of specific programs. Agencies which were fortunate enough to have existing staffs were able to get practically any program funded, regardless of its merit. The primary concern seemed to be "get the money obligated" and the first come, first served, basis for obligation produced many worthless and wasteful programs, most of which are still in operation.

The key to this easy money was an existing staff, sufficiently well versed in the art of program writing and capable of speaking and understanding the bureaucratic language. With the exception of the Appalachian area, which was served by the Council of the Southern Mountains, the only existing staffs were those in urban centers. Rural sections of the nation did not, and many still do not, have the professional personnel with the necessary skills to design and present workable antipoverty programs. This is one of the major reasons rural areas were late to get started and are getting farther behind since the cutback in conduct and administration grants.

It must also be borne in mind that it is much more difficult to design a workable program for a rural area than it is for an urban. The problems are much more intertwined with local government, economic conditions, prejudices, scattered population, and budgeting on a small-unit basis.

As the thing got under way, and especially as it entered into its second year, other governmental agencies began to resent OEO's encroachment into their domain. Even though these other agencies may not have been providing the services for which they were responsible, they did not want competition from a newcomer, whether Federal, State, or local. Had OEO taken the time to thoroughly study the existing services and ways in which they could be helped to upgrade their services, and had more research been made into the methods and values of the earlier funded programs, perhaps this resentment would not have grown to its present proportions.

This type forethought did not, however, come onto the scene until after the existing agencies began a concerted campaign to strip OEO of programs within their particular fields. The tugging and pulling, at both Federal and State levels, has done nothing to improve the quality or the effectiveness of the programs themselves. This is especially true of rural area programs and the agencies which conduct rural programs. Not only have these rural agencies been kept in turmoil by the Washington tug of war, they have been the target in the Department of Agriculture's battle to keep its own empire inviolate.

The USDA's purpose was to transfer large sums of Economic Opportunity Act funds to its own Rural Community Development Service. To make RCDS more palatable and attractive, the USDA went outside its own personnel complement and brought in a very capable director to head this new agricultural agency, but it immediately rendered its new RCDS director virtually persona non grata at OEO by announcing that it would serve as a coordinator for all governmental agencies. The result was that RCDS was not funded by OEO and, to emphasize the resentment with which the grab was viewed, the House Appropriations Committee deleted from the USDA money bill practically all existing RCDS job classifications. The deletion went so far as to red-line the jobs of many employees who were temporarily assigned from other departments and being paid from other subagency budgets.

But the RCDS idea for establishing a coordinating agency for rural programs was a good one and gained much favor with many OEO policymakers. Their fear of the RCDS plan was based primarily on their experiences with other USDA agencies, chiefly the Extension Service, and the possibility that the proposed coordinating agency would become a tool of the parent department rather than of the rural population. One OEO official told me, off the record, that he could find no evidence that the Extension Service ever made an effort to work with the rural poor and had, in far too many rural communities, become closely allied with the interests of local power structures. He sincerely believed that rural program coordination by an agency of the Department of Agriculture would follow that same pattern.

OEO did, however, establish a Rural Task Force section within its own administrative structure and employed a Department of Agriculture man as its director. As late as last November, this Rural Task Force section had only six employees, including clerical personnel, and has been almost totally ineffectual. It occupies the same relationship to its own parent agency as RCDS does to the USDA, and is ineffectual for the same reasons that OEO feared RCDS would not succeed. To this day, any coordination between local agencies of the USDA and CAA's of OEO is dependent entirely upon the personalities of the local administrators.

Other governmental agencies, notably the Department of Labor and HEW, have been able to work out partial transfers of program conduct from OEO to their respective subagencies. In most instances the transfer has produced better programs, less confusion, and more equitable distribution. Unfortunately, however, very few of these transfers have benefited rural areas. As both OEO policy level personnel and their counterparts in the other agencies are urban oriented and familiar with the problems in urban areas, these transfers have been arranged primarily as solutions to urban problems and situations. Very little thought has gone into making these program conduct transfers workable in rural sections of the nation.

Rural Community Action Program directors in the section of Kentucky I represent, believe, however, that enough pattern for these transfers has been established to justify their making an evaluation and recommendation to the effect that OEO should have no programs of its own except community action, and that community action agencies be taken out of the program conduct business entirely.

The stripping of programs from OEO should be replaced by other responsibilities of greater potential effectiveness. These new responsibilities will be discussed in detail under separate headings, but all may be classified under the broad title of community action.

The Vista volunteers program should be retained by OEO but should become a part of community action. Individual volunteers should be assigned to duty with community action agencies in much the same manner individual soldiers are assigned to military units. This is, after all, a War on Poverty and should merit an organized system for obtaining, training, and assignment of personnel. Vista volunteers should then be used by the community action agencies in all subprofessional or lower echelon positions. This would eliminate the patronage ambitions of far too many of our present CAA boards, an especially serious problem in rural areas. It would also eliminate the present problem of resentment among low income people toward those of their number who are fortunate enough to obtain subprofessional jobs with the local CAA.

Professional and upper-echelon administrative positions in the community action program and with community action agencies should be filled either through civil service or through a system of local employment from approved eligibility lists. The first method would be acceptable in rural areas, where the USDA has used similar employment practices for years, but would probably be viewed as Federal intervention in the urban areas. If used, it would be necessary to keep strict watch lest the professional personnel begin to set policy for the CAA governing body. The second method would keep professional personnel as employees of the CAA but would restrict the CAA to a choice of experienced and competently trained people to be selected from an eligibility list supplied by OEO. This subject will be pursued further under the heading "Personnel Procurement and Training."

THE THREE FUNCTIONS OF COMMUNITY ACTION

The role of ombudsman might not be a bad way to describe the position OEO should occupy in Government, but it is not quite exact enough to present a detailed picture of the ideal structure and operation of community action, particularly as it relates to the problems of poverty in rural areas. The following subheadings are, therefore, used to present the concept of community action envisioned by CAP directors in Kentucky's Second Congressional District.

Coordination

The first function of OEO and its community action agencies should be coordination of both agencies and programs which affect the poor, either directly or indirectly.

The OEO general staff should have the authority to review regulations, rules, criteria, methods, and all details of policies and programs which may be proposed or administered by other agencies of Government. OEO should also have the power to require other agencies to enter into joint projects in those cases where established regulations or procedures tend to exclude certain segments of the population or specific geographic areas in need of special or unusual services.

OEO should at all times, in all decisions, and in all departments of Government represent the interests of the poor. In those instances where a departmental policy, regulation, or procedure serves to adversely affect the poor, and OEO cannot by negotiation obtain a change in the policy, regulation, or procedure, it should have the authority and the responsibility to bring the matter to the attention of the President for his personal review and decision.

OEO should also be responsible for the coordination of program information. It should maintain a complete library of federally financed or assisted programs, together with detailed instructions, regulations, criteria, and other pertinent information from all agencies of Government. It should be equipped to provide explicit "how to apply" information to any community action agency within 3 days of a request.

In some respects this information service may seem to be a duplication of the printed material distributed by all of the governmental agencies. An example to show how great is the need would be a rural area in need of a water system. Financing for water systems is available through the Economic Development Administration, the Community Facilities Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, and, in certain cases, through the Appalachia Commission and other assistance services. Some help is available on a partial basis from HEW and the Corps of Engineers if the circumstances fit their particular criteria.

To which of these agencies should this rural community turn for assistance? None of them offer complete details from which to evaluate differences. Assistance in making a project application varies widely. All except the Farmers Home Administration will, however, provide some instruction upon request by a city government or a community action agency. Farmers Home Administration, which should be most concerned with rural areas, renders no assistance until after the rural area has gone to the expense of legally establishing a rural water district. Even then, it will not supply specific criteria but requires an application, which may be rejected on an easily avoidable point.

Community action agencies, especially in rural areas, could render an invaluable service if they had quick and easy access to reliable program information and detailed instruction on the proper preparation of applications destined for submission to any governmental agency. This type assistance is badly needed throughout rural sections and, because of the nature of rural poverty and its economic source, would become an extremely valuable tool in the war on rural poverty.

The power to coordinate programs and projects at the local level should be inherent in the community action agencies. This can easily be accomplished by requiring the CAA's endorsement on all applications affecting the interests or welfare of the poor. Should the CAA withhold its endorsement of a project or program, and the differences cannot be settled by negotiation, the applicant group or agency should have the right of appeal to an arbitration committee mutually selected by the CAA and the applicant group or agency. The arbitration committee should have authority to subpena both witnesses and records having a bearing on the dispute, and its decisions should be binding on all agencies involved in the application.

If the CAA is a source of reliable information, however, there will be few instances, especially in rural areas, in which it will not be directly involved in preparation of the application, hence differences will be rare. It is impossible to overstress the value of the coordination of information and instruction which is proposed herein. Rural area agencies of all kinds would benefit immeasurably.

Evaluation

OEO at the national level and the community action agencies at the local level should conduct a continuous evaluation of programs, projects, and services in terms of their effect upon and benefit to the poor. OEO and its CAA's should have the same authority for review of existing services, with the same procedures governing changes or corrections, as that described under the section on coordination.

In brief, the community action program should have as one of its major functions the role of a watchdog agency in the interests of the poor. This, primarily, is the ombudsman role.

Organization

The subject "Organization" is so important in the rural community action program that it has been divided into two parts for the purposes of this presentation. The first section, dealing with the organizational structure, is treated as one of the three functions of community action, while another heading covers methods and techniques of organizing community action agencies.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE.—Elimination of responsibility for direct program operation by OEO will naturally cause a restructuring of the headquarters and regional organizations. This reorganization will allow OEO the opportunity to become a true coordination and evaluation agency with a strong research and demonstration section, an adequate personnel procurement and training section, and an efficient community action administrative section. In addition, the information service should be designed to perform liaison work for both the CAA's and the public relations aspect.

Principal innovation in organization structure recommended is the funding of administrative staffs by congressional district. These would actually be the Community Action Agency administrative staff personnel. On this basis, the rural CAA could have available expert personnel in agricultural, commercial, industrial, educational, sociological, job development, and economic research fields. In brief, a rural area would have the same caliber personnel available as is now enjoyed by the more populous metropolitan area.

This would eliminate the small CAA administrative staff, but need not eliminate the advantages of the small CAA. Under the congressional district CAA, each county and each city having 10,000 or more population would have its own action board with representation on the CAA, and each would have a county or city coordinator who would work as a member of the overall CAA staff. In addition to producing a saving in administrative costs, the system could and should produce better results.

The cornerstone of this type organization structure would be the county or city (those over 10,000 population) community action council (CAC). The CAA (congressional district governing body) would be elected by the several CAC's (county or city board) with a ratio of one CAA member for each CAC. The CAA membership would not necessarily be required to be poor but could be chosen from any economic level desired by the CAC. The opposite would be true of the CAC in that all members of the board would be from the poor population of the area served. There is no particular need for agency or governmental personnel on the CAC board since cooperation can be obtained in other ways and, in addition, there would be no programs to operate and no patronage, so attractive to agency personnel, to distribute.

Membership of the CAC would be elected representatives from the several community or neighborhood committees within the county or city and from the various special service committees (minority interests, for example) which serve on a countywide or citywide basis. All members of the CAC board would be poor, minority, deprived, or in some respect disadvantaged.

The CAC could have as many subcommittees as desired. These would be established by category of interest, such as library services committee, committee on elementary education, etc. Membership on these committees would not be restricted to the poor or the disadvantaged, but would contain at least one member from the CAC board. The objective in this type structure is to utilize the best leadership, know-how, and energy available within the county or city, and to focus this ability on a particular problem—but to leave the final decision up to those to be benefited, the poor, in a manner which convinces them of their duties and responsibilities both to their own economic class and to the community as a whole.

ORGANIZING FOR COMMUNITY ACTION.—Dividing a county or city into natural geographic communities or neighborhoods is a relatively easy task. In a strictly rural area it can be done by taking a compass and inscribing a circle of any convenient radius around each trade center or settlement. Draw straight lines through the intersecting portions of all circles, and the natural economic boundaries of each community will be defined geographically. This will automatically give the distances people normally travel to trade or meet within their own sphere of primary interest.

Defining neighborhoods within cities is not done in this same manner, but is still relatively easy to accomplish. Here the criteria are ethnic groupings, arterial traffic separations, and schools. Starting with school districts as tentative boundaries, but only tentative, organizational efforts will soon disclose the effect of ethnic groupings and arterial traffic flow upon neighborhood composition. The tentative boundaries should then be adjusted to coincide with this additional information.

The actual organizational effort should begin with an information canvass. Although the information sought should be of some value to the overall effort, its actual character is relatively unimportant. A double benefit can be obtained by first contacting the local governmental body, planning commission, or schools to find out what information they are particularly interested in but have been unable to obtain. This can be the basis for your canvass, including, of course, some of the questions which will serve your own purposes. Not only will your canvass be more acceptable to the people interviewed; it will also win you cooperation from the public officials for whom you are obtaining information.

In the process of gathering information, leave with each family some material which will explain the basic principles of community action. This could be in simplified form, liberally illustrated with cartoons or drawings, and written for fifth or sixth grade comprehension. It will amaze you how effective this will be even at homes which are plainly occupied by affluent people.

In your canvass, do not confine your activities to the poor sections. Everyone likes to be in on the know, no matter what the subject or the purpose. Bear in mind that your work, especially in rural areas, is to get all the people in a community interested in the entire community and working together for the benefit of all. The banker may be interested in a sewer system or a factory. Both sewer systems and factories will benefit the poor as well as the banker, so make a note of his interest for possible inclusion on a sewer service committee. On that committee he will rub elbows with the poor man who represents the CAC board, to the benefit of both and to the ultimate benefit of the entire community.

As soon as one community or neighborhood canvass is complete, even though no others have yet been undertaken, follow up with organizational meetings. Your canvass will have given you many subjects of interest to the residents, any or all of which can be used as a discussion kickoff for your meetings. Do not try to complete your community organization at the first meeting, but do try to form a committee to look into the advisability of establishing a community organization. Meet with this committee two or three times, go into detail with the members, supply answers to all questions, and let them stir up the local interest.

The chances that your first community committee will be a success are very low. Normally, the group will elect people whom they are in the habit of electing to everything else, and who have developed a defeatist attitude from past failures. It is best to elect your first committee on a temporary basis, and provide for replacement of a portion of its membership on a quarterly basis. This will sustain interest, even if only in the act of holding elections at first, and within a year you will have a good working community committee.

Never, under any circumstances, attempt to "sell" a community group on a particular program or on the idea that you are going to "give" them something. Always stress the fact that you are there to help them, help themselves and that your chief stock in trade is access to the know-how they need. Most rural communities already have the desire to help themselves, but lack, and know they lack, the know-how and the staff to apply that know-how. In most cases this alone will assure you a welcome into their midst.

Try to plant one or two ideas for simple projects, such as repairing an elderly couple's roof or fixing a young widow's garden, but make sure that the projects can be accomplished through group effort with very little help, such as supplying tools or transportation, from outside sources. Anything of this nature will add emphasis to the self-help idea and will engender pride in group accomplishment.

Take full advantage of the surplus Government property which is available to you. Nothing can sustain interest like a solid, tangible bit of evidence labeled "Property of the U.S. Government" made available for use of people in a community. Lending a filing cabinet or a desk to a small town city clerk can win the support of an entire city council. A tap and die set, a chain hoist or set of wrenches can change the attitude of an entire county government. Stoves, refrigerators, tables, mess gear, desks, typewriters, and other surplus items can win undying gratitude from school boards and administrators. All of these make your task of community organization much easier, and also open the door to communication between the organizations you establish and their local public officials.

PERSONNEL PROCUREMENT AND TRAINING

Although completely unseen by the general public, the major cause of current criticisms, crises, and failure of community action programs is inadequate personnel procurement and training policies and procedures. Each community action agency is given virtually a free hand in selection of staff personnel, sometimes on a basis of a nebulous qualification standard, sometimes on a patronage basis, and on rare occasion on the basis of experience.

These people are expected to start a new agency, make the necessary research studies, and develop effective programs, yet they have had no training or instruction in how to do it. Sometime within his first 6 months of service, the director usually receives an invitation to a training course at some university or college. Sometimes this amounts to a 2- or 3-day seminar and never does it involve more than 2 weeks. In most cases the training consists of lectures by sociologists and theoreticians; sometimes an experienced grantsman will speak on procuring funds from a private foundation. The emphasis in all cases is on securing grants, never on successful program operation.

The rural director is virtually out of the picture insofar as training is concerned. Only one institution, the University of Missouri, has ever offered anything similar to an adequate subject coverage, and that was on a short-term basis. Other training courses have concentrated only on urban subjects, with mediocrity the rule.

All personnel procurement and training should be the direct responsibility of OEO.

Subprofessional personnel for all community action agencies should be supplied under the VISTA program. Recruitment should be conducted by every community action agency with emphasis on recruitment from among low income families. Training should be in centers maintained by regional OEO offices and should be equal to nine college semester hours compressed into a period of 6 weeks. After the first 2 weeks, trainees should be divided into courses aimed at either urban or rural application with emphasis during the last week on special problems encountered in the area to which the trainee will be assigned. A definite system of grading should be established and passable work required, with no trainee assigned to field duty unless qualified for the assigned job opening.

County coordinators should be classified as semiprofessional personnel. These jobs should be open to (1) VISTA personnel who have completed 1 year of satisfactory duty assignment and (2) recruited personnel who have successfully completed a 3-month training course equal to 18 semester hours of work. This training, like the VISTA training, should be conducted in regional training centers, and either urban or rural specialization should be available. Qualified personnel should be placed on an eligibility list to be submitted to CAA executive directors who have job vacancies in this category. All such jobs should be filled from the eligibility list.

A special course in instruction, to be offered by extension, equivalent to 12 semester hours, should be made available to persons occupying positions as county coordinators. Upon satisfactory completion of this course, plus at least 1 year of satisfactory work on the job, the county coordinator should be placed on an eligibility list for employment as an area organization director and classified as a professional employee. Although most professional personnel should be specialists, with appropriate degrees, the way should be open for those who climb the ranks to eventually serve as an area executive director or a regional analyst.

Professional personnel should also receive additional training. This can be accomplished through a 1-month basic course plus extension work.

SOCIOECONOMIC RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

Although OEO should operate no programs, it should have at least one-third of its total funds made available for research into new ideas, new techniques, new approaches to the problems of poverty. This research will involve the use of demonstration projects in small, selected areas.

Demonstration projects should never be set up on a permanent or continuing basis, but the areas selected for them should be capable of taking over and continuing the project should the demonstration prove it to be feasible.

Research and demonstration in the socioeconomic field offers the greatest hope of eventually finding solutions to the rural poverty situation. Because rural poverty is primarily caused by an economic condition, the elimination of rural poverty is dependent upon answers to be found in such a concerted research and demonstration program.

It would be necessary to employ the full coordinating power of OEO in order to accomplish many of these research and demonstration undertakings. Many, for example, would be based on the premise that certain changes in lending policies could accomplish antipoverty objectives. This type demonstration would require an actual change in these lending policies for the purposes of that one project and could lead, from the data gained, to a complete agency revision.

Demonstration projects do not have to be big in scope in order to produce evaluation information. Nor do so-called high impact areas need to be chosen to test the effectiveness of a project or technique.

One of the greatest problems encountered in community organization work is how to retain the interest of people until some results, or effective progress toward the desired result, can be obtained. This interest can be maintained through the use of demonstration money in small quantities. An example, which has been successful, is a $50 per month allowance to a community organization for a period of 3 months to get them started on a new project. This holds interest, indicates help, but puts the real burden on the people of the community if the project is to be successful. This $150 will tell the tale whether or not the community really wants to work together and can do the necessary spadework which would make the project feasible.

These research and demonstration projects, both large and small, will actually indicate the manner in which coordination among existing agencies can be most effectively achieved. They will also provide a major portion of the information to be used in the OEO-conducted training courses.

EQUITABLE ALLOCATION OF FUNDS

The present method of funding programs violates all concepts of fairness, decency, and good sense. This is true not only of OEO but also of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Manpower Development and Training Act programs, On-the-Job Training, Work Experience and Training, Economic Development Administration project grants, Community Action, and many others.

Practically all federally funded programs are handled on a first come, first served basis, except that many get special attention if the applicant is able to "bird dog" the application through the Washington maze. This practice inevitably works to the disadvantage of the poorer rural sections which do not have the professional staff personnel to prepare and follow through on an application immediately after an appropriation is made. The same is true of smaller cities, where staff specialists are scarce. A majority of the applications from these areas usually get the "sorry, we're out of funds for this fiscal year" treatment.

The entire system is self-defeating. It has caused the birth and growth of a new breed of professional—the grantsman. Grantsmanship is the technique of making an application for funds conform to the ideas or concepts of the reviewing bureaucrat. Effective or lasting service to the people for whom the grant is desired is not essential to the practice of grantsmanship. The purpose of the grantsman is to transfer money from the Federal coffers into local hands.

Where Federal agencies are free to disburse funds on a first come, first served basis, or at the discretion of some Washington reviewer, grantsmanship will continue to be the primary qualification desired in employment of a CAA executive director. So long as this system prevails, ineffective, welfare-oriented, and patronage-riddled programs will continue to be the rule rather than the exception, and rural areas in the greatest need of assistance will continue to be unfunded or underfunded.

By establishing community action agencies on a congressional district basis and funding these agencies equitably, i.e., in proportion to the number of poor within the district to be served, all of these difficulties can be overcome. The greatest possible benefit to be derived from OEO funds is to provide an area with a competent and capable staff which can serve the needs of all the people and properly prepare and process for them effective programs for operation under all existing agencies.

Many rural areas remain unfunded because the CAA structure is not adequate according to OEO guidelines. Although these areas cannot be funded, their boards are no worse than a majority of the boards which have previously been funded and are now being forced to undergo a revision. The difference, however, is that one inadequate board received money while the other did not and, in the final analysis, those existing boards which are adequate were made so through the efforts of a capable and experienced director and not from a desire on the part of the board membership.

The real test, then, is staff competence. So why refuse funds to certain areas and grant to others? Why not make an equitable allocation of funds to all areas, use local officials as a temporary board, require selection of a director from a list of qualified eligibles, and then charge the director with the responsibility for replacing the temporary members with elected representatives of the communities as they are organized.

Equitable allocation of funds by congressional district should apply to all federally financed programs which have a direct bearing on the War on Poverty. This would affect most departments and agencies of Government. Allocation in itself, however, should not be synonymous with expenditure since use of the allocations would depend on many factors, such as the ability to design workable programs, matching or in-kind contributions from local sources, and other factors. Allocated funds should not be transferred to another district, even if unused in the district for which they are allocated, but should be carried over into the following year's allocation. This would enable communities in need of large projects to accumulate sufficient credits with which to fund the high expenditure.

Many programs can best be administered through State agencies. Allocation of funds, however, should still be made on a congressional district basis in order to prevent the State agency from exercising discrimination such as is now being done by the Kentucky Department of Economic Security.

SUPPLEMENTING AND EXPANDING EXISTING SERVICES

Services alone can never elevate people out of poverty. In too many instances the services are made available in a manner to make poverty more bearable, thus defeating efforts to eliminate its causes.

But services are essential and, if administered in coordination with other antipoverty efforts, can be utilized in a highly effective manner—for example, the supply of free dress materials in connection with sewing classes.

The objective of antipoverty agencies, however, should not be the establishment of programs offering services. Instead, existing services should be supplemented and expanded, efficiency and effectiveness of service agencies should be the object of coordination and evaluation activities of the CAA's, and information gathered by local service personnel should be used as the basis of research and demonstration projects aimed at ultimate service improvements.

It has been found that a majority of the inadequacies in existing service agencies is due to a lack of local support for the agency. This is an area of supplementation and expansion where community action agencies can be especially helpful. The CAA is particularly adapted to serve as the planning and organizing medium for local tax issues involving support for such services as health, education, libraries, recreation centers, and other community functions.

FURTHER INFORMATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing covers approximately half of the information and recommendations outlined at a meeting of Second Congressional District CAP directors. At the time of outlining, however, it had been assumed that an opportunity would be afforded to present detailed testimony orally and to answer questions rather than attempting to anticipate the questions.

As this type presentation has been ruled out, preparation naturally takes more time; hence the inadequate coverage. Time does not permit us to do the thorough job we would like, but we do stand ready to answer questions or to cover any of the outlined topics, if requested.

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1967—O 261-116